

Lectio



STUDIES IN THE TRANSMISSION OF TEXTS & IDEAS

8

EDITOR IN CHIEF

Wim DECOCK

EDITORIAL BOARD

Anthony DUPONT

Erika GIELEN

Michèle GOYENS

Stefan SCHORN

SUBMISSIONS
SHOULD BE SENT TO

Erika GIELEN

erika.gielen@kuleuven.be

Sicut dicit

Editing Ancient
and Medieval Commentaries
on Authoritative Texts

edited by
Shari BOODTS,
Pieter DE LEEMANS (†),
Stefan SCHORN



BREPOLS

© 2019, Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium.

All rights reserved.
No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted,
in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical,
photocopying, recording, or otherwise
without the prior permission of the publisher.

D/2019/0095/235

DOI 10.1484/M.LECTIO-EB.5.118543

ISBN 978-2-503-58649-6

e-ISBN 978-2-503-58650-2

ISSN 2565-8506

e-ISSN 2565-9626

Printed in the EU on acid-free paper.

In memoriam Pieter De Leemans

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Shari BOODTS, Pieter DE LEEMANS (†) & Stefan SCHORN <i>Reflections on Editing Commentaries on Authoritative Texts</i>	11
Iacopo COSTA <i>Plurality of Redactions and Access to the Original: Editing John of Jandun's Questions on Aristotle's Rhetoric</i>	25
Michael McVAUGH <i>Hippocrates at Montpellier</i>	47
Marina GIANI <i>Textual Features and Editorial Challenges Posed by the Liber glossarum: Some Remarks on the Quotations from Augustine's De Genesi ad litteram</i>	69
Fausto MONTANA <i>Editing Anonymous Voices: The scholia uetera to the Iliad</i>	97
Alexander ANDRÉE <i>Unlocking the sacra pagina: Editing the Biblical Gloss with the Help of its Medieval Users</i>	127
Giulia ECCA <i>Editing the Lemmata of Galen's Commentary on the Hippocratic Aphorisms, Book 5</i>	163
Lorenzo FERRONI & Gerd VAN RIEL <i>Editing Lemmas in the Second Book of Proclus' In Timaeum</i>	185
Christian BROCKMANN <i>Helpful Interactions between Commentary and Text: Aristotle's Posterior Analytics and Important Manuscripts of this Treatise</i>	209

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Monica BRÎNZEI & Chris SCHABEL <i>Critically Editing a So-Called 'Sentences Commentary'</i>	243
Sara MENZINGER <i>The Past, the Others, Himself: The Open Dialogue of a Medieval Legal Author with his Text</i>	273
James H. BRUSUELAS <i>The Authority of Being Useful: Servius on and off the Page</i>	301
Lara PAGANI <i>Papyrus Commentaries on the Iliad</i>	331
INDEX CODICVM	363
INDEX LOCORVM	367

SHARI BOODTS, PIETER DE LEEMANS (†)
& STEFAN SCHORN

Radboud University Nijmegen, KU Leuven, KU Leuven

REFLECTIONS ON EDITING COMMENTARIES ON AUTHORITATIVE TEXTS

Recent decades have seen a shift of interest from the authoritative texts of Antiquity and the Middle Ages to the manifold commentaries they inspired. Commentaries testify to and indeed provide exclusive access to a rich tradition of cultural reception and intellectual engagement. Modern scholarship has come to recognize their value and embarked on analyses of the commentator's ideas, education, context and exegetical method – put simply, what he says, why he says it and how he says it – without judging the commentator on whether he is, from our present-day point of view, correct or not. This intensified interest in the commentary goes hand in hand with an increased demand for critical editions of the texts in question.

The genre of the commentary has its own characteristics which present a number of specific, sometimes unique challenges to the editor. An ancient or medieval text that comments on another one is inevitably shaped by it. The commentary cites the commented work or copies its structure, as one of several possible exegetical strategies, and regularly the two are presented together on the page, leading to complex relations between the texts and the manner of their presentation or *mise-en-page*. Modern scholarship on the authoritative text that was commented on will often find it useful to consider the commentary. Vice versa, the editor of the commentary cannot turn a blind eye to the text commented on. Especially in the case of authoritative texts, complications and difficulties are rife, since the commented text usually has a complex transmission history. The same can often be said of the commentary itself, precisely because it discusses an authoritative

source text. The situation can become even more complicated as regularly both traditions intertwine and one is ‘contaminated’ by elements from the other.

This volume explores the methodological challenges specifically associated with the editing of commentaries on authoritative texts. Our approach is diachronic and multidisciplinary. We bring together a sample of twelve case studies spanning Antiquity to the Late Middle Ages, texts written in Greek and Latin, and hailing from various fields and disciplines: literature, theology, philosophy, medicine and law.

There are many types of authoritative texts, and many possible dynamics between the text, the commentary, the person commented on and the commentator. Of course, our aim cannot be to present an exhaustive overview of all types of commentaries and the methodological issues associated with editing each of them. Rather, this volume wants to be a casebook, allowing the reader to explore the many challenges and opportunities. Cross-fertilization is the name of the game. Eschewing a traditional organization in chronological order or a strict division by discipline or genre, this volume is structured based on similarities in the methodological issues or the characteristic features of commentaries addressed in the case studies. As most of the studies in this volume deal with several methodological topics, it would have been possible to insert them in different places. In such cases we have usually let the thematic focus of the paper guide us. The following introductory remarks will illuminate other topics or issues they address, apart from those relevant to the section they are allotted to, but exhaustivity is not intended in this regard.

1. *Various Versions of a Commentary by the Same Author: Which One to Edit and How?*

A central thread running through the different contributions is a concern to do justice to the commentators who created the commentaries, to accurately reflect different versions of the commentary, and to acknowledge the characteristics of the antique and medieval commentary tradition. In this regard it has been stressed by various contributors in this volume that authors of the Middle Ages often did not share our understanding of what constitutes a finished work.

Iacopo COSTA presents a classic case of a commentary that exists in multiple versions by one and the same author, John of Jandun's († 1328) commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. Setting out the stemmatical relations between the extant witnesses, Costa demonstrates how the variant readings help to reconstruct the material history of the text as a reflection of the evolution in the author's view on the authoritative text. The presentation of the text in the critical edition is a challenge for the editor of this and similar works, if he or she does not want to edit every single version separately. The alternative presented by Costa for John's commentary is to choose one of its versions but at the same time enable the user of the edition to follow the development of the text in question and of the author's thoughts.

From the position of an editor of medieval legal texts, similar problems are addressed by Sara MENZINGER. She aptly speaks of the 'dialogue of the medieval author with himself'. She finds ample evidence to challenge an idea that is still implicitly taken for granted: 'that an author devoted himself for a delimited period to the composition of a doctrinal legal work, which he began, developed and concluded over the course of some years', that 'the medieval text was a closed text, a belief that prevents us from understanding the alterity of intellectual production before the invention of the printing press'.¹

Michael McVAUGH comes to a similar conclusion in his chapter on Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* at the medical faculty of Montpellier in the 13th century. He demonstrates that student notes on Bernard de Angarra's lectures (so-called *Dubitata*), which predate his finished and probably authorized commentary on the *Aphorisms*, can expose 'the changing intellectual framework in which Montpellier studied the *Aphorisms*',² the evolving questions that were being put to this text, and the development of the commentator's own thought in particular instances. In other words, this 'supplementary' material, surrounding the actual commentary, alerts the editor to the nature of and relationships between the extant versions of the text and thereby plays a crucial role in deter-

¹ Menzinger, p. 292.

² McVaugh, pp. 59–60.

mining the editor's choices. Here too the question arises of how to include this material into the edition of the commentary.

Though other editorial issues are at the centre of attention in this piece, the problem of various versions by the same author is also touched upon in the paper by Monica BRÎNZEI and Chris SCHABEL, who deal with the questions on the Peter Lombard's *Sentences*.

2. *Reconstructing the Archetype or Editing Some Other Version of the Text?*

Assuming that there once existed an archetype of a tradition, the question immediately follows whether or not we should try to reconstruct it and, if not, what other options are available, perhaps even preferable, to the judicious editor. In her chapter on the editorial challenges presented by the *Liber Glossarum*, Marina GIANI puts her finger on an important consideration in this regard:

Sometimes the version of the glossary from which the whole surviving tradition stems does not represent the most interesting and influential step in the history of the work itself: it might have had very little influence or circulation, whereas one of its reworked versions might have been the most widely read and copied.³

In this sense, editors have an important responsibility: they provide access to the texts in question and, through the versions they choose to make available, can to a certain extent enable or hinder research into the reception history of the works they edit. Many of the methodological problems we encounter in this volume are linked to the fluidity, the shifting nature of the commentaries, caused by the absence of an authoritative commentator. They often require a different approach than the traditional reconstruction of a single archetype.

As Fausto MONTANA points out, the corpora of scholia to Homer's *Iliad* go back to the exegetical works of Hellenistic and Roman times that were, between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, excerpted, compiled and rearranged in order to be added to

³ Giani, p. 78.

the manuscripts of the *Iliad* as scholia. From this moment on the exegetical material lacked an author and ‘no subsequent learned reader of the commented text would in theory refrain from handling, re-working, reducing, and improving the scholia according to his own purposes’.⁴ Inevitably, the question arises which text of the scholia we should edit. Montana follows Hartmut Erbse’s approach and distinguishes different classes of scholia that correspond to different editorial and exegetical projects. It is the initial stages of these classes that are to be reconstructed by the editor of the scholia. However, these classes are not found in a pure form in the various manuscript families but only in a highly contaminated state. One main task of the editor is therefore to assign the material to its specific class. Furthermore, Montana shows the need to critically edit also the class of D-scholia, omitted by Erbse, and the h-family of the manuscripts in order to complete our picture of *Iliad* scholiography and to reconstruct more clearly the relations between the different classes of scholia.

In other instances, the alternative to the tentative reconstruction of an archetype may be the edition of one manuscript. This is the approach favoured by the editors of the *Liber Glossarum*. As Marina GIANI explains, they based their edition on a *codex optimus*, ‘whose text has been systematically corrected using two other old witnesses ... and occasionally other ones: the *constitutio textus* is simplified, in order to give the best and swiftest results possible’.⁵ This strategy can be especially useful; it is one of very few options in order to produce an edition within a reasonable timeframe – especially in the case of very extensive commentaries that were subjected to a diverse diffusion.

Another alternative is to opt for the reconstruction of the text as it was found in a certain time and place. Such a procedure is proposed by Alexander ANDRÉE for the edition of the John Gloss within the *Glossa ‘Ordinaria’*. Using the lecture notes of Peter Comestor, Andrée demonstrates that the inclusion of the testimony of medieval authorities is a good way of finding a foothold in a tradition as large and complex as that of the Gloss. Since we can identify which version of the Gloss Comestor used, ‘an edi-

⁴ Montana, p. 103.

⁵ Giani, p. 88.

tor could pick one or more manuscripts answering to this description and edit the glossed book accordingly. Or even better, he or she would edit the Gloss alongside Comestor's explanation of it'.⁶ Andrée points out the advantage of such an approach:

What is interesting – and fundamentally so – with the Gloss is the use medieval scholars made of it in their theological teaching. Therefore, I think that the Gloss should not necessarily be edited alone but as a member of a long tradition of teaching.⁷

Andrée is not alone in this volume in promoting the notion of taking the commentary out of isolation and presenting it as part of a larger tradition. Michael McVAUGH discusses the advantages of a similar approach with regard to the commentary tradition surrounding Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* at Montpellier. In this particular case, one of the questions the editor is facing is whether Galen's (huge) commentary on the *Aphorisms* should be printed alongside the work of Montpellier commentators. Since the commentary in question is often hardly intelligible without the contextual material offered through Galen, McVaugh is theoretically in favour of including as much supplementary material as possible. Nevertheless, McVaugh also recognises a major problem: finding a publisher sympathetic to this project could prove a major obstacle.⁸

3. *Correcting Errors in the Authoritative Texts and in the Commentaries*

Whatever the role we attribute to or the presence we grant the commentator in the critical edition, as editors of commentaries we are united in the need to deal with the tension between the text commented upon and the commentary. Some of the case studies address the question whether, and how, the commentaries can serve to correct the text commented upon and what that means for the edition of the commentary. Caution must be exercised

⁶ Andrée, p. 149.

⁷ Andrée, p. 130.

⁸ McVaugh, p. 65. See also Brusuelas' remarks on the problems one encounters when trying to reconstruct and edit the archetype of the Homeric Lexicon of Apollonius Sophista and Donatus' commentary on Vergil.

in this regard, because commentaries can be replete with variations and outright errors, and it can be very difficult to distinguish between original readings, authorial changes and scribal mistakes. Two papers deal specifically with these questions in relation to the lemmas in the commentaries, ‘the special areas where the two traditions appear to overlap’.⁹

In her paper on Galen’s commentary on Hippocrates’ *Aphorisms*, Giulia ECCA shows that it is often not clear which variant readings in the text of the *Aphorisms* that Galen cites, were actually found in the manuscripts of Hippocrates – and what value these manuscripts had, if he indeed found them there – or were emendations of the text according to his own interpretation of its meaning. In addition, some of Galen’s variant readings seem to have entered the direct manuscript tradition of Hippocrates so that agreement cannot always be seen as a confirmation of the origin of a variant reading. The value of the commentaries for establishing the text of the works they comment on raises other important questions: which version of the lemmas should the edition of the commentary print, which traditions should be included in the critical apparatus, and which traditions should be relegated to the text critical notes appended to the edition?

Similar methodological issues are addressed by Lorenzo FERRONI and Gerd VAN RIEL in their paper on editing lemmas in the 2nd book of Proclus’ *In Timaeum*:

- (1) How should a Proclus editor use the original Plato text in order to establish which was Proclus’ Plato (that is, which was the Platonic text read by Proclus, reproduced in his lemmas, and discussed in his commentary)? (2) How should a Proclus editor deal with the discrepancies between the Plato text of the lemmas and the one he happens to quote while commenting it? (3) What is the value of Proclus’ lemmas and commentary for an editor of Plato’s *Timaeus*?¹⁰

As is shown by their case studies, contamination of the commentary’s manuscript tradition by direct witnesses of the *Timaeus* and

⁹ Ferroni & Van Riel, p. 205.

¹⁰ Ferroni & Van Riel, p. 193.

vice versa needs to be taken into consideration. Editors should be continually aware of the possibility of “‘ideological’ emendations” in both traditions.

Christian BROCKMANN’s chapter, then, illustrates some of the methodological issues presented by the preceding two chapters. He offers a philological study, showing how the *constitutio textus* of two passages of Aristotle’s *Posterior Analytics* can be improved by taking into account the readings in the commentaries by John Philoponus and Leon Magentius. Brockmann cautions that here too multiple layers of ‘supplemented materials from several other commentaries’¹¹ clutter the manuscripts that hold promise for the reconstruction of the authoritative text. The editor must again proceed with caution.

A related topic is discussed by Marina GIANI. She zooms in on the different ways in which mistakes entered the commentary tradition, in her case the *Liber Glossarum*. One is a consequence of the division of labour between the author of the compilation and the scribes responsible for transferring selected passages from the source manuscripts or from temporary carriers like *schedulae*. It holds the inherent risk of scribal mistakes that are easily overlooked by both author and editor.¹² Giani discusses in detail which mistakes the editor of the *Liber Glossarum* is supposed to correct and which he or she is not, and her suggestions may very well be applied by editors of other works as well.

4. *Presenting the Sources of the Commentaries in Print and in Digital Editions*

Still other difficulties arise when the line between commentary and commented text begins to blur. This volume offers illustrations of traditions in which the authoritative text has inspired a great many commentaries, with every new commentator assimilating, modifying and expanding the work of his predecessors, creating an entire tradition that is difficult or impossible to reconstruct as the utilised sources and cross-references are often not credited explicitly. In this case, the commentaries become com-

¹¹ Brockmann, p. 226.

¹² Giani, p. 79.

mentaries of commentaries and preceding commentaries become authorities in themselves.

Monica BRÎNZEI and Chris SCHABEL present a fascinatingly complex example: sets of questions on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, a compulsory subject for future masters in theology to lecture on in European universities in the later Middle Ages. The authors of these sets could and did fall back on numerous predecessors who lectured on the *Sentences*, but rare are the sets of questions that clearly identify the direct sources of the quotations they incorporate. Brînzei and Schabel do not skirt the issue and rightly state that 'no edition ... can be considered definitive without tracing these tacit sources, when they survive'.¹³ Combined with the size of the texts, the number of extant manuscript witnesses and the frequent existence of multiple redactions, this particular genre presents daunting challenges to the editor. Yet Brînzei and Schabel demonstrate in their article that excavating the layers of this rich tradition holds great rewards – if we can find a way to present the results in an appealing and user-friendly manner.

Sara MENZINGER describes a very similar situation in a different field, the medieval legal tradition. She also acknowledges the significant editorial obstacles associated with the practice of inserting implicit references to preceding legal arguments and cases, but in turn emphasizes how this practice demonstrates 'the great cultural vitality of the legal environment in medieval Europe':

The written page implied a larger unwritten text, a latent text present in the mind both of the author and of the reader, that could be reactivated by the author. Through the incessant use of references, the medieval legal author had the power to activate the mnemonic knowledge of thousands of legal arguments and cases lying in the memory of medieval scholars.¹⁴

In the case of the scholia on Homer's *Iliad*, one might expect their editors to include also papyrus fragments containing exegetical works on this epic as additional material, given the fact that the explanations in the scholia partly go back to the exegetical works preserved in the papyri. Fausto MONTANA and Lara PAGANI plead

¹³ Brînzei & Schabel, p. 247.

¹⁴ Menzinger, p. 283.

for not including papyri as witnesses in their edition of the *Iliad* scholia because they predate the initial stage of the different classes of scholia they want to reconstruct. Of course, the testimony of the papyri does have a place in the apparatus of parallel passages so the user of their edition will be aware of this material.

Finally, a different tension on a methodological level is also alluded to in several chapters: a tension between the work of the editors that have gone before us and the problems we are trying to solve today. In this sense, modern editors of commentaries on authoritative texts (and other editors as well) have to come to terms with a more recent authority: the authority of previous editors of the same text, corpus, or genre. Several chapters recognize the possibilities of digital environments for the complex apparatuses and multi-layered texts required to adequately represent the textual traditions and sources of commentaries on authoritative texts.

Marina GIANI describes several such promising features in the online edition of the *Liber Glossarum* by Anne Grondeux. The digital environment enables the inclusion of a complete transcription of the source texts for each gloss, for example, a feature which vastly facilitates the study of the reception history of the source texts.

James BRUSUELAS discusses the ways in which Servius' commentary on Vergil's *Aeneid* has been edited in modern times. The problem with Servius is to distinguish between the text of Servius himself (S) and the so-called Servius Auctus (DS), the latter being a version of the original Servius amplified by texts from Donatus' lost commentary and other material, and to make clear to the user of the edition which material belongs to which tradition. Brusuelas sets forth how modern editors from Thilo-Hagen on have dealt with this problem and have presented the text in their printed editions. He describes in detail the advantages and disadvantages of their layouts and then demonstrates how Servius' commentary can be critically edited with Proteus' Digital Editor for Classical Philology (DELPHI). The search functions that can be implemented in such a digital edition go far beyond simple word search as known from other digital tools, if lemmas are properly categorized and classified. Besides tagging topics such as mythology, etymology, etc., one could also tag the different layers of the text so users can make them visible at a mouse click:

A useful digital Servius would allow the user to search efficiently for content and both to search for and to visualize its parts: S, DS, text shared by S and DS, areas of rewriting, the source commentary added to S, etc. This indeed would be an entirely new kind of Servius.

Even with such examples of promising forays into new possibilities of mise-en-page, it often remains difficult or downright undesirable to break definitively with the – often highly accomplished and much-loved – printed series and editorial practices set out by previous generations. It turns out that it is very difficult to dismiss what has gone before.

5. *Editing Papyrus Fragments of Commentaries*

Fragments of commentaries on papyri have their own special methodological problems due to their state of preservation, as is shown by Lara PAGANI in her study of the commentaries on Homer's *Iliad*. It is often quite difficult to establish the literary 'genre' of the text, i.e. the type of exegetical work it represents. Yet to be able to supplement the lacunae in the text and to interpret the papyri properly, it is important that the editors make up their mind about the type of work they are dealing with. Pagani analyses the features of the 'genre' *hypomnema* and discusses a number of borderline cases where scholars have opted for different categorizations.

* * *

Lately academia, and especially the governing bodies that supply academia with funding, have been quite enamoured of the concept of interdisciplinarity. There is a strong push toward research that bridges highly divergent fields and applies the methods of one discipline to the problems and challenges of another. This focus on interdisciplinarity, while certainly valuable, risks overlooking, however, that even within a single discipline – such as textual criticism – there is much scholars can learn from each other if they step out of their particular niche and compare notes.

While arguably the editing of commentaries on authoritative texts is a highly specific topic of scholarship, this volume offers a sample of the riches that can be harvested when commentaries

from different time periods and regions, belonging to different genres, and pertaining to different disciplines are placed next to each other. Recent years have shown that philologists and editors can benefit from reaching out to other disciplines, both within the Humanities and beyond, even to the exact sciences. But that does not mean that we have learned all we can from each other. Guided first and foremost by methodological considerations, the collection of essays in this book wants to stimulate editors and philologists to jump from one field, one genre to the next, breaking out of the traditional, sometimes rigid boundaries of their particular niche or topic.

As is to be expected, hard-and-fast solutions to the challenges associated with editing commentaries on authoritative texts are rare. While it is certainly comforting to know that we are all wrestling with similar problems and challenges, the main goal of this compilation is to look at the same problems from different angles, to explore how editorial practices that are being tested and implemented in one field hold opportunities and possibilities for another. This volume wants to promote knowledge exchange and a productive synergy between editors encumbered by the same problems, who then can learn from one another and perhaps complete the solutions they have only partially been able to reach independently. In short, this volume offers an opportunity to ‘get to know your neighbour’.

Ten of the twelve papers contained in this volume were presented at the workshop ‘Sicut dicit ... A methodological workshop on the editing of commentaries on authoritative texts’ that took place at KU Leuven, 9–11 March 2016. Two were written on invitation afterwards. We are grateful to our co-organizers Rita Beyers, Reinhart Ceulemans, Wim Decock, Erika Gielen, Marleen Reynders, Geert Roskam, and Hajnalka Tamas, for their stimulating input, as well as to the funding bodies that made this meeting possible. First and foremost, we thank LECTIO – Leuven Centre for the Study of the Transmission of Texts and Ideas in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, which hosted this workshop as part of its ‘Laboratory for Text Editing’. We are further grateful for the financial support of KU Leuven, the Flemish Research Foundation (FWO), the Corpus Christianorum’s Dom Eligius

Dekkers Fund, Graecitas Christiana vzw, and the Flemish government. Finally, we would like to thank the many peer reviewers who carefully read the papers and significantly contributed to their improvement.

* * *

The concept of the *Sicut dicit* workshop was to a large extent developed by Pieter De Leemans and some of his ideas have been included in the introduction above. Shortly after we started working on the publication of the papers in this volume Pieter became ill. He died only a few weeks before the finished document was sent to the publisher. It is to his memory that the remaining two editors wish to dedicate this volume. We will greatly miss him.

IACOPO COSTA
CNRS, PSL Research University Paris, LEM, UMR 8584 -
Leonine Commission, Paris*

PLURALITY OF REDACTIONS AND ACCESS TO THE ORIGINAL: EDITING JOHN OF JANDUN'S QUESTIONS ON ARISTOTLE'S *RHETORIC*

Textual criticism often has to deal with texts that have been preserved in two or more different versions or redactions. Plurality of redactions causes some specific issues, namely: which one is to be considered the final version? Are all versions the work of the same author? And if so, why do different versions exist? However, the most important problems are the following: do the different versions belong to the same textual tradition or not? How did the author work, from a strictly material point of view, to elaborate the new version? The nature, quality, and number of witnesses do not always allow us to solve these problems.¹ The text that I will present in this paper is a lucky case, since the method of composition adopted by the author left visible traces in the textual tradition.

John of Jandun († 1328) is deservedly considered one of the most prominent philosophers of his age: this brilliant Master of Arts is the author of an impressive *corpus* of Aristotelian commentaries. Strongly influenced by Averroes's works, his ideas have been influential until the 16th century. His commentary on Aris-

* I would like to thank Louis Nagot for his help in reviewing the English text of this paper, as well as the anonymous readers for their useful suggestions.

¹ It is easy to note that medieval texts, because of the greater chronological proximity of the tradition to the age of composition, preserve a greater amount of accidents and details allowing to draw a clearer picture of the tradition: for example, the most ancient manuscripts of the works of Thomas Aquinas or Albert the Great are extremely close to the date of their death; the situation is obviously much more problematic for classical texts, whose manuscript tradition is posterior by several centuries to the date of composition.

totle's *Rhetoric*, still unedited, is probably the last work that he composed before leaving Paris to seek protection at the court of Louis the Bavarian (1326).²

John's commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* presents at least two points of interest: first, among his substantial works, it is the only one that was not printed in the 15th or in the 16th century; second, only a small number of medieval Latin commentaries on this Aristotelian treatise are extant: besides John of Jandun's, we know of Giles of Rome's and John Buridan's.³ From a philosophical point of view, this commentary is noteworthy: it certainly contains purely rhetorical themes (e.g., on the nature of persuasion, on the enthymeme, on dialectical science, etc.); nevertheless, John clearly used this text to expose his moral and political philosophy, which is particularly interesting since, as far as we know, John did not comment on the *Nicomachean Ethics* or the *Politics*.⁴

As far as its literary form is concerned, the text is composed of *quaestiones* and does not include a commentary *ad litteram*. This makes it quite difficult to determine the quality of Aristotle's text the author knew and commented: it is certain that he mainly depends on William of Moerbeke's translation; nevertheless, since there are only a few lemmas quoted *ad litteram*, it is not easy to precisely grasp which 'stage' of Aristotle's text John depends upon.⁵

I am currently working on the critical edition of this commentary. In this paper, I will present my hypothesis on the tradition and I will discuss some methodological issues.

² The list of his works and an updated bibliography can be found in Weijers 2003, pp. 87–104; see also Brenet 2011, I, pp. 626–29.

³ On the reception of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, see Dahan & Rosier-Catach 1998; on John's of Jandun commentary, see the study by E. Beltran published in the same volume, pp. 153–67.

⁴ I have presented some doctrinal aspects of this commentary in a recent study, see Costa 2018. As far as John's literary production is concerned, it does not seem to me that the texts quoted by Schmugge 1966, pp. 45–46, seriously prove that John commented on the *Nicomachean Ethics* or on *Politics*.

⁵ Medieval translations of the *Rhetorica* from Greek to Latin are edited in volume XXXI of the 'Aristoteles Latinus' (see Bibliography below). On the philological problems presented by literal commentaries, especially commentaries of translated texts, the best guides are, in my opinion, the critical Introductions of Thomas Aquinas' Aristotelian commentaries in the Leonine edition (especially volumes I* 1–2, XLV 1–2, XLVII, XLVIII: see Bibliography below).

1. *The Two Versions of the Commentary*

There are two versions of this text: a short version (which I call *editio minor*: μ) and a long version (*editio maior*: M). Here is a comparison of the structural differences between the two:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| <i>editio minor</i> (μ): | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – book I, 51 questions; – book II, 15 qu.; – book III, 3 qu. (= 68 qu. in total). |
| <i>editio maior</i> (M): | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Dedication to Annibaldus de Ceccano; – Prologue; – <i>Extra litteram</i>, 1 qu.; – book I, 51 qu.; – book II, 15 qu.; – book III, 3 qu. (= 69 qu. in total); – <i>Exornationes sententiarum</i> (= excerpts from <i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i>, IV). |

As we can see from the two lists, M adds some pieces to μ : a dedication to Annibaldus de Ceccano,⁶ a general prologue, one question *extra litteram* (i.e. an introductory question⁷), and, after book III, a choice of rhetorical figures taken from book IV of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.⁸ Hence, M is a more complete version, and this suggests that it is the definitive version of our commentary, which will be confirmed by our inquiry; nevertheless, μ contains five brief paragraphs that are omitted in M . For the moment, it is important to note that, except for these additions and omissions in M , the text of the two versions is roughly identical: in the common part (i.e., questions on book I–III), the two versions are not characterized by any significant ‘editorial’ differences but only by variant readings.

⁶ Canon at Notre-Dame at the time of the dedication. See, on Annibaldus, Dykmans 1975; Courtenay 2004, pp. 213–17; Lützelshwab 2007, pp. 431–34.

⁷ The *quaestiones extra litteram*, quite frequent in the time of John, generally deal with introductory or preliminary matters, such as epistemological problems (on the nature of the commented science, on its relation to other sciences, etc.). In the present case, the question deals with the necessity of Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* towards human happiness.

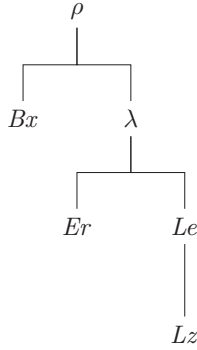
⁸ John does not comment on these figures, he merely reproduces the rhetorical figures as they can be read in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, cutting away some examples here and there.

2. *The Manuscripts and their Mutual Relationships*

Eight manuscripts of John's *Questions* on the *Rhetoric* are extant.⁹ Version μ is preserved in five manuscripts:

- Bx* Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, 2916 (863–69),
 fols 372^{ra}–401^{rb};
Er Erfurt, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek, Amplon. F.
 13, fols 121^{ra}–155^{vb};
Le Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 1246, fols 264^r–320^v;
Lü Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek, Phil. 2°3, fols 262^r–321^v;
Lz Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 1247, fols 242^r–302^v.

These witnesses derive from a lost copy, which I call ρ .¹⁰ This text, ρ , is not the original, since its witnesses have significant mistakes in common. The relationships existing between the manuscripts depending on ρ are expressed by the following *stemma*:



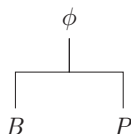
Version M is preserved in two Italian manuscripts of the 14th century:

- B* Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, 1625, fols 114^{ra}–142^{vb};
P Padova, Biblioteca universitaria, 1472, fols 262^{ra}–286^{rb}.

⁹ The fact that these manuscripts come from German and Northern Italian areas matches John's biography.

¹⁰ I have collated the totality of manuscripts, with the exception of *Lü*, of which I do not have a copy yet; it is, therefore, absent from the *stemma* and my results concerning the ρ family are thus not definitive yet. *Lü* alternates John of Jandun's *Questions* with John Buridan's *Questions* on the *Rhetoric*.

These are two independent copies of the same lost model, ϕ :



Like ρ , ϕ offers a good text, but it has an important number of significant mistakes, hence ϕ is not the original of version M .

Then we have a last, eighth manuscript:

K Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, CCI 749, fols 1^{ra}–28^{vb}.

K , a manuscript of the first half of the 14th century, is at the same time a very valuable and a somehow dangerous witness. From a structural point of view, K is a witness of M (it has all the additional parts of M), but it also transmits the five paragraphs that have disappeared in the evolution from μ to M ; besides, K has an additional question absent from both μ and M . This question, which lies between qu. 18 and 19 of book I, deals with the relationship between beauty and moral character: does physical beauty imply moral goodness? The opening statement of the question is noteworthy and allows us to explain the ‘textual character’ of K :

Qu. 18^{bis} (K , fol. 8^{va}):

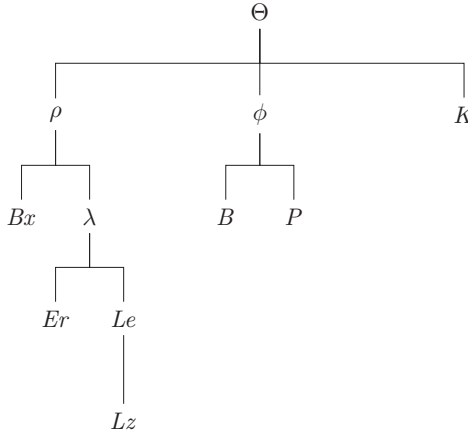
Ex quibus quidem oportet et de hiis ... [Arist., 1360b1] Circa istud capitulum potest queri de pulcritudine quia Aristoteles loquitur de pulcritudine in illa particula: *Pulcritudo autem altera secundum quamque etatem...* [1361b7], quia magister non ordinavit istam questionem inter suas questiones Rethorice, set hic ponatur illa questio ut reportata ab eo, licet usque ad illam partem [*scil.* 1361b7] omnes questiones non sunt expedite: ne ergo decadat a memoria, ponatur hic. Et sit questio utrum pulcritudo corporis arguit bonitatem anime ita quod pulciores in corpore sint meliores quoad animam.

What does this text mean exactly? After a *lemma*, the responsible of the redaction K announces a question dealing with beauty, even if this argument should be treated below; and he writes that ‘the master’ (*magister*, i.e., John) did not include this question in his edition (*non ordinavit inter suas questiones Rethorice*), but that

he (i.e., the redactor) will insert this question here as it has been recorded during the lectures that John gave on the *Rhetoric* (*ut reportata ab eo*).¹¹

It seems sound to conclude that *K*, or more probably a lost model of *K*, is a version of the text, which was prepared by someone who was in the circle of John (a close student, a bachelor, a secretary), someone who had collected materials from his lectures (qu. 18*bis*) and who had access to both versions of his commentary of the *Rhetoric* (since, being a copy of *M*, *K* has the deleted paragraphs of μ). As we will see in another case below, *K* seems to have a ‘conservative’ attitude: it prefers to have a more complete text over respecting the author’s wish.

The general *stemma* is therefore:



Since the three main branches (ρ , ϕ , *K*) do not share any common mistakes,¹² their model is the original (Θ), and there is no archetype separating the original from the threefold division of the tradition. Now we must think that Θ evolved from μ to *M*, so that two stages of the textual tradition are present in the same material copy.¹³ We can easily imagine that Θ belonged to John, and that

¹¹ This fact allows the conclusion that neither μ nor *M* are a *reportatio*: if this were the case, they would include qu. 18*bis*.

¹² With the exception of those mistakes which can go back to the author; see below, pp. 35–36.

¹³ This is far from being a unique case: the copy of Radulphus Brito’s commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics* preserved in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,

John made some significant changes in it, adding the supplementary parts of *M* and deleting the five supplementary paragraphs of *μ*. This process is typical of the period prior to the invention of printing; as Giorgio Pasquali noted: 'The author keeps the original or his handwritten copy, and he can keep on working on it, so that, when a friend asks him a copy, he gives to transcribe a revised, or rewritten, copy'.¹⁴ Then, speaking of two versions is slightly inappropriate: we should rather say that the unique source of the tradition (Θ) has evolved, and that the surviving copies have grasped (almost 'photographed') two stages of this evolution.

Therefore, *μ* is a first stage of the diffusion of the text, while *M* is a subsequent stage. In a good number of cases, it is owing to *K* that we can observe the evolution of the original (Θ). From a critical point of view, the only important goal is to try to follow the evolution of the original (Θ).¹⁵

3. *Sketch of the History of Θ*

I will now present some cases that confirm my hypothesis and illustrate the nature of this textual tradition.

The first case is very clear. Here is the text of φ :

Qu. 46 (utrum addiscere et mirari sit delectabile), resp.:

Est intelligendum quod addiscere uno modo dicit actionem doctoris in discipulum, alio modo dicit transmutationem discipuli ad scientiam. Et de primo diceret aliquis Aristotelem intelligere, non de secundo. **Quamuis addiscens, dum addiscit, non habeat habitum perfectum, tamen habet imperfectum, sicut quod mouetur habet aliquid de termino ad quem mouetur, VI Phisicorum.** Set non uidetur mihi secundum intentionem Aristotelis ...

Vat. lat., 2173 is the witness of an analogous situation, though much more chaotic: see Costa 2008, pp. 67–92.

¹⁴ Pasquali 1952, p. 400: 'Lo scrittore ritiene per sè il suo originale o il suo esemplare "a mano" e può seguitare a lavorarci intorno, cosicchè, quando un amico gli richiede una copia, egli fa trascrivere una opera corretta, rifatta'.

¹⁵ I merely point out, without further analysis, the existence of a slight degree of contamination in some witnesses: this mainly concerns *Bx* (copy of ρ), which testifies a few readings of φ , and *P* (copy of φ), which testifies a few readings of ρ .

The passage in bold makes no sense at this point. This same passage is omitted by ρ , while K has it in the lower margin. Here is the explanation: at some moment, John must have decided to add the sentence *Quamuis addiscens...*; working on his own copy (Θ), he must have added this sentence in the form of a marginal note. The problem is that a copyist can be unable to position the marginal addition correctly in the main text (especially if a sign indicating the place to insert the addition is omitted or unclear): this is why φ has the passage in the wrong place; the copyist of K was more careful: rather than adding the sentence in the wrong place, he leaves it in the margin. Finally, the passage is absent in ρ , since this copy has been made before the addition of the passage. I propose to add the passage in another place of the same question:

Ibid. (correction proposed):

Set est intelligendum quod addiscens, dum addiscit, potest considerare motum suum quo tendit ad scientiam et ipsam scientiam quam sperat acquirere, et sic delectatur. **Quamuis addiscens, dum addiscit, non habeat habitum perfectum, tamen habet imperfectum, sicut quod mouetur habet aliquid de termino ad quem mouetur, VI Phisicorum.** Et potest etiam considerare defectum suum et ignorantiam, ad cuius expulsiorem addiscit, et sic potest aliquo modo contristari.

* * *

Let's take a different case. Here I suppose that John has not given a complete reference to the text of Averroes that he is quoting, and this incompleteness induced some disorder in the tradition:

Qu. 43 (utrum bona que inexistunt uni soli sint meliora), arg. 2:

Quod est impossibile non est bonum: hoc est manifestum per se. Set aliquid inesse uni soli homini est impossibile, ut uult Commentator XII Metaphisice, ubi dicit quod non est fas bonitati diuine sic habere sollicitudinem circa unum indiuiduum ut det ei aliquam dispositionem quam non habeat aliquod aliorum, **et est in commento.**

The last clause (*et est in commento*) is quite strange. Now this is the reading of ρ (except Bx) and of φ . Bx tries to correct, with-

out success, but its text is more consistent: *et est in 6° commento* (indeed, the quoted text does not belong to the 6th *commentum* of book XII of Averroes' commentary on the *Metaphysics*). *K* understands the inconsistency of John's text, and so he simply omits the litigious words. Most likely, John was quoting Averroes from memory, and he left a blank since he did not remember in which *commentum* the quotation had to be found, but then he omitted to add the reference (hence, *K* has here only the appearance of correctness, while ρ and φ are correct in reproducing the incomplete text as such).

* * *

I will now give an interesting example of what I called the 'conservative attitude' of manuscript *K*. This is one of the brief paragraphs that have disappeared in the passage from μ to *M*. In question 18 on book I, John discusses a statement of Aristotle (1360b4–14), according to which happiness has parts (i.e. friends, honour, wealth, etc.). Now, according to the *Nicomachean Ethics* (book X), happiness is the act by which human intellect contemplates the highest principles of reality, and it is clear that such an act cannot be divided into parts. Here is John's solution:

Qu. 18 (utrum felicitas habeat partes), resp.:

Dicendum quod felicitas potest accipi dupliciter: uno modo pro illo quod essentialiter et principaliter est ipsa felicitas, alio modo pro omnibus bonis hominis que necessaria sunt ad complementum et decorem felicitatis.

<a> Tunc dico breuiter quod felicitas primo modo sumpta non habet partes quantitatuas: nam sicut intellectus, cum sit uirtus separata a magnitudine, ita saltem quod non diuiditur diuisione quantitatis, sic illud quod existit in intellectu non habet huiusmodi partes quantitatuas. Set felicitas hoc modo existit in intellectu: nam talis felicitas est actus intellectus secundum nobilissimam uirtutem respectu excellentissimi obiecti, ut patet ex X Ethicorum, et hoc precipue uerum est de felicitate speculatiua que est actus sapientie; felicitas autem politica est actus intellectus practici secundum nobilissimam uirtutem practicam, scilicet secundum prudentiam. Quare etc.

 Secundo potest dici secundum communem doctrinam quod huiusmodi felicitas non habet partes essentielles. Quia

nullus actus habet partes essentielles cum omnis actus sit forma et forma est simplex in essentia, ut patet ex VII Metaphisice et in Libro sex principiorum. Set ipsa felicitas sic sumpta est quidam actus, scilicet actus uel operatio secundum uirtutem perfectissimam. Etc.

Set secundum rei ueritatem felicitas bene habet partes essentielles que sunt principia quiditatis, scilicet genus et differentiam: nam omnis species generis habet huiusmodi partes, ut patet ex VII Metaphisice. Felicitas autem est quedam species, puta actionis aut passionis aut qualitatis. De quo ad presens non est discutiendum.

<c> Tertio potest dici quod ista felicitas non habet partes subiectiuas, que sunt species uel genera: quia sicut excellentissimum obiectum intellectus non est multa secundum speciem nec secundum genus, immo est unum solum, scilicet ipse deus, qui est totaliter optimum omnium que in natura, ut patet ex I et XII Metaphisice, sic actus intellectus respectu huiusmodi obiecti non est plurificatus secundum speciem nec secundum genus.

Here, John explains that ‘happiness’ can be understood in two ways: first, as the act that achieves the essence of happiness, second, as the acts or the goods that produce or complete happiness. And then, John adds three points: <a> In the first sense, happiness has no parts, since intellect is a separate (not material) faculty, and those things who are separate from matter have no parts (*partes quantitatuas*); according to the ‘common doctrine’, happiness has no essential parts, that means that the act is a form and the form is a simple essence; <c> there is only one subject of happiness (happiness has no *partes subiectiuas*), that is to say, God.

Between the explanation of points and <c>, ρ and K have the additional emphasized paragraph: here John explains that, happiness being an essence, it can have essential parts, which are his principles (*principia quiditatis*), viz. genus and specific difference. Nevertheless, this is a difficult metaphysical issue, which would demand a much longer analysis, that would not be appropriate in a *Rhetoric* commentary; that is why he added at the end of the paragraph: *de quo ad presens non est discutiendum*. This paragraph belonged to μ (since it is in ρ); and in all likelihood John decided to delete it in the final version *M*. However, as we have

seen for the case of qu. 18*bis*, *K* is a conservative version; and since this paragraph did not materially disappear from Θ (it was probably eliminated by *uacat* or by expunction), the copyist of *K* or its model decided to copy it, while φ followed the instruction of the author and did not copy it.

* * *

As happens to every author, John made mistakes. He corrected them during a phase of revision. Let's look at the following text:

Qu. 10 (utrum omnis ostensio reducatur ad sillogismum uel inductionem), ad 2m:

Vel potest dici aliter quod licet principia probandi **non** reducuntur ad conclusionem probatam, tamen principia bene reducuntur ad conclusionem illatam et fiunt sub forma conclusionis illate licet non sub forma conclusionis probate.

The first *non* is necessary to the correct sense of the sentence; it is, however, only the reading of *K* and *Lz* (the latter adding it as an interlinear addition); the other ρ manuscripts omit it, while φ has an incorrect *si*. It is likely that, in a first moment (μ), John inadvertently omitted *non*; revising the text (passage from μ to *M*), he probably added *non* as an interlinear addition; now a *non* between two lines gives a compressed *non* which can easily look like *si*.¹⁶ This explains why ρ has the error of μ (omission of *non*); φ wrongly interpreted the interlinear correction (reading *si* instead of *non*), while *K* read it correctly. *Lz*, after having copied the incorrect text of μ (reflected by ρ), conjectured the good reading *ope ingenii*.¹⁷ In such a case, it is only due to the mistake of φ that we can guess a correction in Θ ; if we only had the omission of *non* in ρ , we would have no means to confirm that the omission was probably in a first stage of Θ (we would have no means to distinguish μ from ρ , i.e. no means to distinguish between a stage of the text and a material/individual copy).

* * *

¹⁶ The abbreviation 'ñ' being close to 'fi'.

¹⁷ More or less successful attempts at correction *ope ingenii* are one of the characteristics of *Lz*.

It also (rarely) happens that a mistake escapes authorial revision, due to distraction or tiredness. Here for example:

Qu. 27 (utrum sanitas sit causa factiua ipsius uiuere et delectationis), resp.:

Quarto uidendum est **an** ipsa sanitas, supposito quod sit quedam qualitas essentialiter consequens immediate relationem, scilicet proportionem, debitam qualitatum primarum, sit principium actuum ipsius uiuere prout uiuere dicit actum secundum ipsius uiuentis.

The good reading, *an*, is found only in *P*; it is omitted by *B*, *K* and *ρ*, hence it is certain that it was absent from **Θ**. Again, *Lz* tries the conjecture *uidendum quod*, but it fails, even if its solution could be acceptable from a grammatical point of view: indeed, John wants to study whether health is the active principle of life, he doesn't simply want to see that health is such a principle. In this case, we have a minor mistake in the original: the text requires *an* or *utrum*, and *P*, which is in general a highly inaccurate witness, was the only one to succeed in correcting the text properly.

4. Methodological Problems

Let's come now to the methodological problems: how should the editor proceed to establish the critical text of this commentary? And how should the critical apparatus be conceived?

First of all, it is clear that only one text should be printed: it would be nonsense to print separately *μ* and *M*. Indeed, when we dispose of the two versions (i.e., for the text of the questions on books I–III, that is more than 90% of the whole text), the three branches of the tradition transmit the same text, all the manuscripts are perfectly 'collationable'; in absence of accidents or revision in **Θ**, the editor must consider *ρ*, *φ* and *K* as three independent witnesses of the same text. As I have argued at the beginning of this paper, the tradition grants us, in the majority of cases, a sure access to the original **Θ**: indeed, it is extremely rare that the three branches differ (producing a situation $\rho \neq \varphi \neq K$): even in the few cases of mistakes in **Θ** which generated some disorder in the tradition, one can generally count on those manuscripts that mechanically reproduce the reading of **Θ**.

There are indeed some passages where one can note disorder in the whole tradition, without necessarily spotting a mistake in Θ : this depends on the fact that an original copy is often an 'untidy' copy; such a manuscript supposedly presents cancellations, rewritten parts, marginal notes, accidents of various kinds, etc.¹⁸

Since M is most likely the latest editorial state, the critical edition will include the supplementary sections (i.e., dedication, prologue, qu. *extra litteram* and, at the end, the *Exornationes sententiarum*); in these sections, given the absence of ρ , the tradition is bipartite (φ and K).

The five paragraphs deleted in the passage from μ to M should be rejected in the apparatus, since John likely deleted them. On the contrary, the supplementary question of K (18bis) will be printed in the appendix, since its absence from both ρ and φ , as well as the statements of K concerning its origin, make us sure that John never planned to include it in his edition (*ordinatio*).

Another important question concerns the critical apparatus. As has been said before, the most important thing (or rather the only important thing) is to try to grasp the 'history' of Θ , i.e., its evolution from μ to M . Now we find, in this text, a lot of cases of opposition of ρ against φK . But we must not give in to the temptation of seeing, in every case of $\rho \neq \varphi K$, an evolution from μ to M . Indeed, ρ is a copy of the original Θ , a copy which is not particularly corrupted, but which has no special authority; hence we must suppose that ρ introduced into Θ a number of variants, which are completely independent of the author's will; and since ρ is the only witness of μ ,¹⁹ it is impossible to determine, in a certain number of cases, if a particular reading of ρ is either a variant introduced by ρ or a primitive reading of μ . Here, the editor has to be extremely careful and try to evaluate every single case. The critical apparatus should never give the impression of an evolution from μ to M if the material only allows recording a variant in ρ . For this reason, I believe that the critical apparatus should never mention μ or M , but only ρ , φ and K , and should thus be read in some cases as an 'agnostic' apparatus. The reader will have

¹⁸ See, for example, father Gils's study on the autographs of Thomas Aquinas: Gils 1992.

¹⁹ The collation of *Lü* could maybe alter this conclusion.

to evaluate whether a case $\rho \neq \varphi K$ can or cannot be regarded as an evolution from μ to M .²⁰

5. Conclusion

Editing John of Jandun's *Questions* on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* allows us to elucidate some important aspects of the intellectual production at a medieval university.

First, the evolution from μ to M , when reconstructible on solid textual grounds, makes us grasp the author's work, letting us almost enter his workroom. In addition, our knowledge of the typologies of authorial mistakes is increased by the study of this tradition.

Second, since the problem of multiple versions is frequent in scholastic texts (especially in commentaries), the close study of this textual tradition can be a useful model for other analogous traditions.²¹

Third, and last point: the tradition has to be studied at the same time as a 'vertical' and as a 'horizontal' tradition: the reconstruction of ρ and φ and, subsequently, of Θ through collation of ρ , φ and K is grounded on a vertical transmission, while the discovery, in Θ , of two stages, μ and M , is a diachronic, horizontal development of the tradition.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Aristoteles Latinus, *Rhetorica*. Translatio anonyma et Guillelmi, ed. B. Schneider, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 1978 (Aristoteles Latinus, XXXI 1–2).
- I. Costa (2008), *Le questiones di Radulfo Brito sull'“Etica Nicomachea”*. Introduzione e testo critico, Turnhout: Brepols (Studia Artistarum, 17).

²⁰ The inversions offer a good example: I tend to believe that, revising the text, the author has no reason to change, for instance, *dicit Philosophus* to *Philosophus dicit*; but I cannot *a priori* exclude that he decided to do so. In our case, in the presence of an inversion in ρ against φK , there is no decisive reason to argue for a variant in ρ rather than for an authorial revision.

²¹ Besides the case of John of Jandun, we can mention, for the Faculty of Arts, Radulphus Brito and Peter of Auvergne: multiple redactions exist of many of the works of these two masters.

- Thomas de Aquino, *Expositio libri Peryermenias*. Editio altera retractata, ed. R.-A. Gauthier, Roma, Paris: Commissio Leonina, Vrin, 1989 (Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera Omnia iussu Leonis XIII P. M. edita, I*1).
- Thomas de Aquino, *Expositio libri posteriorum*. Editio altera retractata, ed. R.-A. Gauthier, Roma, Paris: Commissio Leonina, Vrin, 1989 (Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera Omnia iussu Leonis XIII P. M. edita, I*2).
- Thomas de Aquino, *Sentencia libri De anima*, ed. R.-A. Gauthier, Roma, Paris: Commissio Leonina, Vrin, 1984 (Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera Omnia iussu Leonis XIII P. M. edita, XLV*1).
- Thomas de Aquino, *Sentencia libri De sensu et sensato cuius secundus tractatus est De memoria et reminiscencia*, ed. R.-A. Gauthier, Roma, Paris: Commissio Leonina, Vrin, 1985 (Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera Omnia iussu Leonis XIII P. M. edita, XLV*2).
- Thomas de Aquino, *Sentencia libri Ethicorum*, ed. R.-A. Gauthier, Romae: Ad Sanctae Sabinae, 1969 (Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera Omnia iussu Leonis XIII P. M. edita, XLVII*1–2).
- Thomas de Aquino, *Sentencia libri Politicorum*, ed. H.-F. Dondaine & L. J. Bataillon, Romae: Ad Sanctae Sabinae, 1969 (Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera Omnia iussu Leonis XIII P. M. edita, XLVIII A).

Secondary Literature

- E. Beltran (1998), 'Les Questions sur la Rhétorique d'Aristote de Jean de Jandun', in G. Dahan & I. Rosier-Catach (eds), *La Rhétorique d'Aristote, Traditions et commentaires de l'antiquité au XVII^e siècle*, Paris: Vrin, pp. 153–67.
- J.-B. Brenet (2011), 'John of Jandun', in H. Lagerlund (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy. Philosophy Between 500 and 1500*, Dordrecht: Springer, I, pp. 626–29.
- I. Costa (2018), 'Jean de Jandun: la rhétorique comme révolte', in F. Woerther (ed.), *Commenting on Aristotle's Rhetoric, from Antiquity to the Present*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, pp. 153–73.
- W. J. Courtenay (2004), 'University Masters and Political Power: The Parisian Years of Marsilius of Padua', in M. Kaufhold (ed.), *Politische Reflexion in der Welt des späten Mittelalters*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, pp. 209–23.
- G. Dahan & I. Rosier-Catach (eds, 1998), *La Rhétorique d'Aristote, Traditions et commentaires de l'antiquité au XVII^e siècle*, Paris: Vrin.

- M. Dykmans (1975), 'Le cardinal Annibal de Ceccano (vers 1282–1350). Étude biographique et testament du 17 juin 1348', in *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 43, pp. 145–341.
- P.-M. Gils (1992), 'S. Thomas écrivain', in Thomas de Aquino, *Super Boethium De Trinitate. Expositio libri Boetii De Ebdomadibus*, Roma, Paris: Commissio Leonina-Les Éditions du Cerf, 1992 (Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera Omnia iussu Leonis XIII P. M. edita, L), pp. 173–209.
- R. Lützelshwab (2007), *Flectat cardinales ad velle suum? Clemens VI. und sein Kardinalskolleg*, München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag.
- G. Pasquali (1952), *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Firenze: Casa editrice Le Monnier, 1952² (repr. 1988).
- L. Schmugge (1966), *Johannes von Jandun (1285/89–1328). Untersuchungen zur Biographie und Sozialtheorie eines lateinischen Averroisten*, Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann.
- O. Wijers (2003), *Le travail intellectuel à la Faculté des arts de Paris: textes et maîtres (ca. 1200–1500), V. Répertoire des noms commençant par J (suite: à partir de Johannes D.)*, Turnhout: Brepols.

Abstract

The manuscript tradition of John of Jandun's *Questions* on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* presents some typical problems of scholastic literature, namely the existence of two versions and, before the composition of these versions, the existence of an 'oral stage' (i.e., lectures that John gave to his students at the time he was a Master of Arts at the University of Paris) that have left some traces in the tradition. The textual tradition is tripartite, and the three branches of the *stemma* go back directly to John's personal copy. Hence, this situation grants us an almost certain access to the original and allows us to partially reconstruct its history.

Appendix

I offer here the provisional edition of book I, qu. 2. In this question, John explains the relationship between rhetoric and dialectic, which is a crucial topic for shaping rhetorical science.

Given that the dedication, the prologue, and qu. 1 are an addition of *M*, qu. 2 is the first question being transmitted by the totality of witnesses. I hope that this specimen will corroborate the conclusions sketched above. As an interesting example, one can take the beginning of the question: since it is the second question in *M*, φ and *K* start with the expression 'Consequenter queritur ...'; being, on the contrary, the first question in μ , ρ manuscripts have different incipits, like, for instance, *Bx*: 'Circa librum Rethorice Aristotelis prima questio sit ista, utrum ...'. In this case, we can be sure that this divergence depends on authorial revision.

The critical apparatus is positive; the abbreviations require no explanation. The notes referring to the sources are to be found at the end.

* * *

<Ioannes de Ianduno, Questiones super Librum Rethoricorum>

<Lib. I, qu. 2>

Consequenter queritur an²² rethorica sit assecutiua dyalectice. Arguitur quod non.

<1> Quia unum contrariorum non est assecutivum alterius, ut manifestum uidetur, immo corruptivum: 'corruptiva enim sunt ad inuicem contraria', secundum Aristotelem in²³ I De generatione et II^(a). Set rethorica et dyalectica sunt contrarie,²⁴ probatio: quia differentia secundum speciem est contrarietas, ut dicit Aristoteles in X Metaphysice^(b), et sic uidetur quod illa que differunt secundum speciem sunt contraria. Nunc autem dyalectica et rethorica differunt secundum speciem, ut uidetur esse manifestum: sunt enim diuersi habitus intellectuales per se distincti et non solum secundum accidens, ut manifestum est. Quare etc.

²² consequenter queritur an φ] consequenter queritur utrum *K*: *aliter* ρ (circa librum rethorice aristotelis prima questio sit ista utrum *Bx* circa librum rethorice queritur primo an *Le Lz* circa librum rethorice queritur an *Er*).

²³ in λ φ] *om. Bx K*.

²⁴ contrarie *B K Bx*] -ria λ *P*.

<2> Preterea.²⁵ Si rethorica esset assecutiua dyalectice, hoc esset²⁶ pro tanto quia²⁷ ‘ambe sunt de quibusdam talibus que quodammodo omnium est cognoscere, nullius autem determinate’; hanc rationem ponit Philosophus in littera^(c). Set propter hoc non potest dici quod rethorica sit assecutiua dyalectice, probatio: quia constat²⁸ secundum Aristotelem^(d) in isto I quod rethorica principaliter considerat de enthymemate persuasio, et istud²⁹ non pertinet communiter ad omnes scientias, immo determinate ad rethoricam, similiter dyalectica est de sillogismo dyalectico,³⁰ quem constat non ad omnes scientias pertinere. Quare etc.

<3> Item. Nulla pars scientie ciuilis est assecutiua dyalectice: hec uidetur manifesta, quia scientia ciuilis est moralis, et dyalectica rationalis seu sermocinalis. Set rethorica est pars scientie ciuilis, ut uidetur uelle Aristoteles in I huius, capitulo *Rursus igitur* ..., prope finem, ubi dicit quod ‘accidit rethoricam esse uelut adnatam quandam partem negotii quod circa mores quod iustum est³¹ appellare politicum’^(e). Et hoc plane dicit Tullius in I sue Veteris rethorice, ubi sic dicit: ‘Quare hanc oratoriam facultatem in eo genere ponemus, ut eam ciuilis scientie partem esse dicamus’^(f). Quare etc.

Oppositum dicit Aristoteles in isto libro in principio^(g).

Considerandum est³² quod, sicut dicit Expositor^(h) et bene, assequi³³ aliud est ipsum imitari uel ei conformari, quod pro eodem accipio. Aliquid autem imitatur alterum uel ei conformatur dupliciter: uno modo imitatione perfecta, alio modo imitatione imperfecta et diminuta. Imitatio quidem seu conformatio perfecta unius ad alterum est cum unum conuenit cum altero³⁴ in omnibus conditionibus prout est possibile, sicut contingit aliquem filium conformari suo patri in omnibus conditionibus prout est possibile, scilicet in magnitudine, in³⁵ figura, colore, moribus, robore et huiusmodi; imitatio uero imperfecta est cum aliquid conformatur alteri in aliquibus tantum et in aliis deficit, ut si

²⁵ preterea φK] item ρ .

²⁶ esset ρP] erunt B : esse K .

²⁷ quia ρP] quod $B K$.

²⁸ constat $B K$] contingat ρ (*aliter* P).

²⁹ istud ρ] illud (*i*^d) B : hoc K : *om.* P .

³⁰ dyalectica – dyalectico φK] rethorica est de sillogismo ρ .

³¹ est $\varphi K Lz$ (*Arist.*)] et ρ ($- Lz$).

³² est $K P$] *om.* ρB .

³³ assequi $\varphi K Lz$] esse qui ρ ($- Lz$).

³⁴ conuenit cum altero ρ] conuenit cum alio K : cum altero B : simile est alteri P .

³⁵ in φK] *om.* ρ .

filius conformatur³⁶ patri in colore et magnitudine et differt³⁷ in figura et³⁸ moribus et huiusmodi, et talis imitatio differt secundum magis et minus secundum quod aliquid in pluribus conditionibus differt ab alio uel conuenit cum eodem.

Vltterius considerandum quod rethorica conformatur dyalectice primo in hoc quod utraque considerat aliquem actum rationis per quem ratio peruenit ad cognitionem ignoti.

Secundo in hoc quod ambe utuntur talibus³⁹ propositionibus que sunt constitute ex terminis communibus ad confirmandum suas rationationes,⁴⁰ ut hac propositione: 'de similibus simile est iudicium'⁽ⁱ⁾, 'contraria non sunt simul in eodem', et huiusmodi que dicuntur maxime propositiones.

Iterum,⁴¹ conueniunt in hoc quod nulla earum per instrumentum quod considerat facit certam cognitionem de conclusione, set incertam cum formidine ad oppositum.

Differunt etiam ab inuicem secundum multa. Primo quia actus rationis quem considerat dyalectica, scilicet sillogismus dyalecticus, est perfectior quam ille quem⁴² considerat rethorica, scilicet enthimema, ut patet ex logica.

Secundo differunt in hoc quod rethorica illas maximas quibus utitur applicat ad pauciores conclusiones quam dyalectica: nam rethorica proprie loquendo solum persuadet circa res ciuiles seu morales et⁴³ utitur illis propositionibus ad huiusmodi conclusiones ciuiles que dicuntur conclusiones ypotheses, ut dicit Boetius in IV suorum Topicorum^(j); et hoc satis innuit Tullius in principio sue Noue rethorice, ubi sic⁴⁴ dicit: 'Officium oratoris est de hiis rebus dicere posse, que res ad usum ciuilem moribus et legibus constitute sunt'^(k). Dyalectica uero utitur hiis⁴⁵ propositionibus ad plures conclusiones uel ad conclusiones plurium generum scibilium, puta naturalium, mathematicorum et diuinorum.

³⁶ conformatur KP] -formetur λ : *dub.* Bx (*def.* B).

³⁷ differt K] differat ρ : deficit φ .

³⁸ et φK] *om.* λ (*def.* Bx).

³⁹ talibus ρ] equalibus B : aliquibus P : rationalibus K .

⁴⁰ ratiocinationes ρB] rationes KP .

⁴¹ iterum φK] item ρ .

⁴² quem ρP] quam B : quoniam K .

⁴³ et $B K$] ut ρ (*def.* P).

⁴⁴ sic φK] *om.* ρ .

⁴⁵ hiis φK] huiusmodi ρ .

Iterum,⁴⁶ differunt tertio quantum ad notitias quas inducunt per sua instrumenta: nam rethorica generat notitiam debiliorem et magis remotam a certitudine quam sit illa que fit per dyalecticam, et huius⁴⁷ differentie ratio est quia conclusiones de rebus ciuilibus, que sunt opera humana, propter uarietatem et transmutabilitatem⁴⁸ huiusmodi rerum, sunt minus certitudinaliter et debilius cognoscibiles⁴⁹ quam conclusiones que sunt de rebus speculabilibus maiorem uniformitatem et fixionem habentibus. Et hoc satis docuit Aristoteles in I Ethicorum, ubi sic dicit: 'Bona autem et iusta de quibus ciuilis intendit tantam habent differentiam et errorem ut uideantur lege sola esse, natura autem non' etc.⁽¹⁾

Et sciendum quod notitia quam facit sillogismus dyalecticus dicitur opinio, illa uero quam generat rethorica dicitur ab aliquibus fides et ab aliquibus coniecturatio.

Iterum, est alia differentia bene notabilis: quia dyalectica utitur sillogismo dyalectico ad talia entia de quibus per se loquendo non peruertitur iudicium propter passiones existentes in appetitu, uidelicet propter amorem uel odium uel iram uel misericordiam,⁵⁰ ut de ista conclusione quod celum non habet materiam, uel quod forma per se generetur, per se loquendo et ex natura rei non peruertitur iudicium propter amorem uel odium ipsius rei de qua est iudicium, licet multum per accidens in talibus peruertatur iudicium propter amorem uel odium alterius hominis qui tenet talem uel talem opinionem: cum enim aliquis amat alium, libentius adheret opinionibus eius, et cum odit ipsum, libentius nititur improbare opiniones eius. Set hoc non accidit ex natura talis rei speculabilis. Set ipsa rethorica utitur enthymemate persuasio ad talia de quibus iudicium rationis uariatur et interdum peruertitur amore uel odio ipsius rei: cum enim iudex odit aliquem reum, ipse amat aut desiderat eius punitionem, et ideo facilius iudicat ipsum esse⁵¹ puniendum, et e contrario cum ipse amat eum, iudicat facilius ipsum esse absoluentum, et sic de similibus.

Hiis premissis potest dici ad questionem quod ipsa rethorica est assecutiua dyalectice saltem assecutione non omnino perfecta, quod patet ex dictis: nam illa ars assequitur dyalecticam que in aliquibus

⁴⁶ iterum *B K*] item *p P*.

⁴⁷ huius *φ K*] huiusmodi *p*.

⁴⁸ transmutabilitatem *K*] -mutationem *p φ*.

⁴⁹ cognoscibiles *φ K*] -noscibilia *p*.

⁵⁰ misericordiam *φ K*] inuidiam *p*.

⁵¹ esse *φ K*] *om. p*.

conformatur dyalectice et in aliquibus deficit; rethorica⁵² est huiusmodi, ut manifestum est ex predictis;⁵³ quare etc.

Et potest ostendi ratione quam innuit Aristoteles in littera^(m), scilicet quia⁵⁴ ambe sunt de talibus quibusdam que communiter omnium est cognoscere et nullius determinate: ambe enim considerant quedam communia que in sua communitate sumpta non pertinent precise ad aliquam unam scientiam, ut simile, contrarium, genus, species et huiusmodi; ista tamen quodammodo cognoscuntur ab omnibus scientiis, scilicet in specialibus rebus; ut⁵⁵ naturalis philosophus, licet non consideret⁵⁶ genus in communi, tamen considerat hoc genus quod est animal, similiter autem⁵⁷ et in aliis suo modo.

Set est hic dubium: quia per istud medium Aristoteles non uideatur probare quod rethorica sit assecutiua dyalectice magis quam e conuerso, scilicet per hoc quod ambe sunt de talibus communibus⁵⁸ etc. Et forte dicendum est quod quamuis ambe sint de talibus communibus, tamen quia rethorica applicat ea⁵⁹ ad conclusiones pauciorum generum et facit per ea minorem certitudinem quam dyalectica, ideo potest dici assecutiua dyalectice magis quam e conuerso.

Ad primam rationem potest dici quod licet unum contrariorum ut contrarium est non sit⁶⁰ assecutiuum alterius, tamen secundum aliquam conditionem in qua conformantur ad inuicem non est inconueniens;⁶¹ sicut symia,⁶² licet secundum dispositiones aliquas sit contraria homini, tamen quia in aliquibus proprietatibus aliquid⁶³ conformatur ipsi, ideo est bene assecutiua ipsius hominis. Et cum dicitur in minori quod rethorica et dyalectica sunt contrarie, potest negari: quia contraria non possunt simul esse in eodem subiecto indiuisibili,⁶⁴ nunc autem dyalectica et rethorica⁶⁵ sunt simul in uno⁶⁶ subiecto indiuisi-

⁵² rethorica] autem *add. ρ.*

⁵³ ex predictis φK] *om. ρ.*

⁵⁴ quia $\lambda \varphi$] quod $Bx K$.

⁵⁵ ut φK] et ρ .

⁵⁶ consideret φK] -siderat ρ .

⁵⁷ autem φK] *om. ρ.*

⁵⁸ communibus φK] *om. ρ.*

⁵⁹ ea φK] *om. ρ.*

⁶⁰ est non sit φK] non est sic ρ .

⁶¹ inconueniens φK (*Lz post corr.*)] conueniens ρ .

⁶² symia ρB] sillogismus K : assecutiua P .

⁶³ aliquid φK] *om. ρ.*

⁶⁴ indiuisibili φK] -liter λ (*def. Bx*).

⁶⁵ dyalectica et rethorica φK] rethorica et dyalectica λ (*def. Bx*).

⁶⁶ simul in uno φK] in eodem λ (*def. Bx*).

bili, scilicet in intellectu. Et ad probationem potest dici quod Aristoteles non accipit ibi proprie et stricte contrarietatem pro oppositione que est inter duas formas eiusdem generis quarum una est exclusiua alterius in eodem subiecto: sic enim intelligentie non essent differentes secundum speciem, quod communiter reputatur impossibile⁽ⁿ⁾; set accipit contrarietatem pro diuersitate duarum formarum per se diuersarum quarum una est perfectior alia, et sic est hic.

Bene tamen remanet dubitatio:⁶⁷ cum diuisio generis sit per opposita et opposita quocumque modo oppositionis non possunt simul esse in eodem secundum idem, qualiter due species eiusdem generis possunt simul esse in intellectu, utpote due scientie differentes, nisi forte dicatur quod scientia non est genus ad scientias speciales set solum analogum? De hoc autem non determino ad presens.

Ad aliam dicendum est per distinctionem: nam dyalectica et rethorica considerant de aliquibus tamquam de propriis subiectis de quibus demonstrant, et sic non sunt⁶⁸ de talibus communibus⁶⁹ que omnium sit cognoscere; et considerant de aliquibus quibus utuntur ad confirmandum consequentias⁷⁰ uel ratiocinationes,⁷¹ ut⁷² simili, contrario, genere, specie et huiusmodi, et sic sunt de talibus que quodammodo etc.

Ad aliam potest dici quod rethorica habet unam partem que est de enthymemate persuasiuo, et quantum ad istam est pars logice; et aliam partem que est de passionibus anime, et quantum ad istam est pars ciuilibis scientie. Quod non est inconueniens, et de hoc plus uidebitur in consequentibus.⁷³

(a) Reuera Arist., *Phys.* I, 192a21–22. (b) Arist., *Metaph.* X, 1055a3–10. (c) Arist., *Rhet.* I, 1354a1–3. (d) Arist., *Rhet.* I, per totum, praecipue 1356a34–1358a35. (e) Arist., *Rhet.* I, 1356a25–27. (f) Cicero, *De inu.* I, 5, 6. (g) Arist., *Rhet.* I, 1354a1. (h) Aegidius Romanus, *In Rhet.* I, 1 (ed. Venetiis 1515, fol. 2^{ra}). (i) Cf. Boethius, *De differentiis topicis* III, 3, 15 (ed. D. Z. Nikitas, pp. 53, 5–6). (j) Boethius, *De differentiis topicis*, IV, 1, 4 (ed. D. Z. Nikitas, pp. 71–72, 15–17). (k) *Rhet. ad Her.* I, 2. (l) Arist., *Eth. Nic.* I, 1094b14–16. (m) Arist., *Rhet.* I, 1354a1–3. (n) Cf. Thomas de Aquino, *Quaestio disputata de spiritualibus creaturis*, 8.

⁶⁷ remanet dubitatio φK] retinet omnino ρ .

⁶⁸ sunt φK] est ρ .

⁶⁹ communibus ρ] communibus uel conclusionibus *dub.* φK .

⁷⁰ consequentias] suas *praem.* ρ .

⁷¹ ratiocinationes $\lambda \varphi$] rationes $Bx K$.

⁷² ut φLz] et $\rho (-Lz)$: *om.* K .

⁷³ consequentibus $B K$] sequentibus ρP .

MICHAEL McVAUGH
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

HIPPOCRATES AT MONTPELLIER

The institutionalized medical faculties in the new universities of the 13th century taught exactly the same curriculum that had evolved in the more informal medical schools of the 12th century. Often called the *ars medicine*, it consisted of a set of seven short treatises, almost all originally Greek, that had found Latin translation before the year 1100. They included the *Isagoge* of Johanneitius (or Hunain ibn Ishāq), an introductory outline of medical theory; the *Tegni* (*Techne*, *Ars parua*) of Galen; two diagnostic treatises, on pulse (Philaretus) and urines (Theophilus); and three of Hippocrates' works, his *Aphorisms*, *Prognostics*, and *Regimen in Acute Diseases*, the last of which was incorporated into the collection about 1200.

The constituent texts of the *ars medicine* had been the object of commentaries in 12th-century schools such as Salerno, many of which survive. Evidence for their teaching in the universities of the next century – the most important for medicine were Paris, Montpellier, and eventually Bologna – is a little haphazard. At Paris, medical teaching seems to have been long disrupted by the dispersion of 1229, but in the 1270s a burst of documentation includes the formal statement that students must read the named works of the *ars medicine*, though no commentaries on them by Parisian masters of the day are known to exist. From Bologna there is much fuller evidence: Taddeo Alderotti began to teach there in the 1260s, and over the next 30 years delivered commentaries on the *Isagoge*, the *Tegni*, and the three Hippocratic works of the *ars*, parts of all of which survive in a developed written form. From Montpellier the evidence is fragmentary but still

revealing. We have an early commentary on the *Isagoge* by Henry of Winchester, chancellor in 1240, and then, from perhaps the 1250s, a set of commentaries on the entire *ars medicine* by master Cardinalis of which several copies exist, establishing that this was indeed the basis of the school's curriculum. Then from a generation or so later, at the end of the century, we are fortunate to have commentaries by several different Montpellier masters – all, as it happens, on the Hippocratic constituents in the *ars medicine*, the *Aphorisms* and the *Regimen in Acute Diseases*.¹ During the course of the 13th century, academic physicians everywhere had begun to study Avicenna and the works of Galen with growing intensity, but in 1300 Hippocrates was still generally a more important authority than Galen.

Among the Hippocratic writings, the seven books of *Aphorisms* held the most authority for medieval physicians, as being short, pithy, factual, uncomplicated statements about disease symptoms and treatment, and this seems especially true at Montpellier. Here, under concentrated study and with increasing familiarity, the masters' commentaries on this text evolved from expositions of the complete work (as in the case of Cardinalis), to detailed analyses of the implications of an individual aphorism (three of which were drawn up by Arnau de Vilanova in the 1290s), to collections of *questiones* on the aphorisms in sequence through the entire work, examples of which survive from 1320 and 1334. This sequence of Montpellier commentaries is of interest because it may provide us with evidence bearing, not only on intellectual trends and development within the faculty, but also on the evolution of teaching practice there. The number of surviving Montpellier texts is restricted, and one could easily imagine someone undertaking to edit them all for scholars to study as a set. But each one would raise its own distinctive questions for a prospective editor.

The edition of Cardinalis's commentary, the earliest in the series, might seem to be a straightforward task. The authoritative text of the *Aphorisms* that was used in the 13th-century universities was one that had been translated from Greek in the late 11th

¹ I have touched briefly on the Montpellier commentaries on the *Regimen* in McVaugh 2017.

century and had become a constituent of the old *ars medicine*:² it consisted of seven books (though many schools studied only the first six), each containing 40 to 80 aphorisms, usually of no more than 20 words. Sometimes the aphorisms were grouped loosely together by subject matter, but in no sense did an individual book (much less the work as a whole) present a continuous train of thought or argument. It was really a collection of self-standing generalizations, each of which could be studied independently, so it is not surprising that by Cardinalis's day they were treated as individuals. The first three or four words of each aphorism had come to function not just as a generally accepted lemma but as a name that identified the aphorism and its topic (rather than calling it 'aphorism 12 of book II' or 'II.12') and conferred a kind of individual identity upon it.

At the time when Cardinalis was writing his commentary on the *Aphorisms*, the old *ars medicine* was undergoing a degree of modification. Increasingly, after the middle of the 13th century, the Galenic and Hippocratic texts in the *ars medicine* began to be studied in the light of earlier commentaries; the collection in this enriched form was often referred to as the *ars commentata*.³ The Hippocratic works were normally studied in the light of Galen's commentaries upon them, and the commentary on the *Aphorisms* that was used was the Arabic-Latin version of Constantine the African; attaching that to the Greek-Latin translation of the *Aphorisms* often caused confusion for commentators. But that was the least of their difficulties. As a link between the *Aphorisms* and Galen's commentary (one of his longest) became the academic norm, a master now found it increasingly necessary not simply to explicate a 25-word Hippocratic sentence, but effectively to comment as well on Galen's commentary on the same sentence, which might well be 50 or 100 times as long.

Cardinalis's commentary was evidently produced at a very early stage in this process. It refers only very sparingly to Galen's commentary on the *Aphorisms* – indeed, I once supposed that he had not used it at all⁴ – and when Cardinalis uses it, he does

² Wallis 2011.

³ O'Boyle 1998.

⁴ McVaugh 2011, pp. 333–34.

not engage with it, with Galen's often extended explorations of clinical or philosophical issues, he merely takes an isolated passage from it to help flesh out his own very brief discussion of the particular aphorism in question. To give a sense of dimension: aphorism II.17, called VBICVMQVE CIBVS, is an 11-word aphorism to which Cardinalis devotes only 170 words, about 60 of which paraphrase an extract from the beginning of Galen's commentary; the full Galenic commentary on this aphorism runs to just under 900 words in Latin, and is mostly ignored by Cardinalis, whose focus is on the Hippocratic work *per se*, and much of his commentary is given over to trying to explain the supposed connection between successive aphorisms so as to understand what Hippocrates' overall program might have been.

But in the next 40 years Galen's commentary became accepted as a necessary adjunct to the study of the *Aphorisms*. It is an important contributor to Taddeo Alderotti's enormous commentary on that work, which was completed at Bologna in 1283 and fills nearly 200 folios in its 16th-century edition. No Montpellier commentaries survive from those years, but it seems probable that there too Galen's text had become solidly accepted as necessary to study in conjunction with the aphorisms. Could that have frightened masters away from preparing a full commentary? It would help explain why in the 1290s we find Arnau de Vilanova at Montpellier choosing to comment not on the 400-odd aphorisms as a whole, like Cardinalis, but on individual ones in isolation – they lend themselves to individual study, after all. Early in that decade, for example, Arnau completed a commentary on II.34, called IN MORBIS MINVS.⁵ No manuscripts survive, only more-or-less corrupt 16th-century editions of copies now vanished; here the 29-word aphorism is followed by Arnau's 8000-word commentary, a commentary that debates far more vigorously with Galen than with Hippocrates. A generation or so before, Cardinalis had disposed of this aphorism in 147 words and never once mentioned Galen.

How should an editor approach a commentary of this sort? The modern editors of Arnau's Latin medical works, faced with this text, felt that his discussion would be largely incomprehensible

⁵ Arnau de Vilanova 2015.

if it were not accompanied by Galen's commentary on the same aphorism, a 500-word text which Arnau frequently refers to and quotes or paraphrases. We therefore decided to prefix not only the aphorism but the Galenic commentary too to Arnau's text: we sampled a great number of manuscripts of that commentary until we found one whose language conformed closely to Arnau's quotations, and transcribed it. That process has started me thinking more about what an 'authoritative text' really is. The *Aphorisms* are certainly such a text – but in studying their use in the Middle Ages, can they really be dealt with in isolation from the elaborate Galenic commentary that came to be associated with them and in the process established and defined their authoritative meaning? The 16th-century editor of Alderotti's commentary thought not: in the 1522 edition, every Hippocratic aphorism is followed by its Galenic commentary and then by Alderotti's own discussion. Should we conclude that the 'authoritative text' itself has somehow changed? To what extent is the purpose of editing a commentary on Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* simply to put a medieval text into print (along with the text of the *Aphorisms*, of course), and to what extent is the editor also responsible for making accessible the contextual material (in this case, Galen's huge commentary) without which that text will be largely unintelligible? I will come back to this question, but in another form.

1. *From Commentaries to Questiones*

The next phase in the study of the *Aphorisms* at Montpellier was marked by a transition from full commentary to *questiones*; by selecting particular topics for commentary, the masters were able to avoid the problem of explicating Hippocrates and Galen together in detail. And of course the aphorisms were wonderfully suited to *questio*-treatment, for they ranged over an incredible number of topics – purging, fevers, diet, sleep, climate, aging, urines, and on and on – the whole spectrum of medicine, really, therapeutics and pathology and physiology. That meant that every commentator confronting the text was likely to have his reaction to its individual parts shaped significantly by current topical interests within his academic community, or by momentary personal insights that determined what attracted him about an individual

aphorism, or indeed both – in the case of the aphorism IN MORBIS MINVS, for example, Arnau de Vilanova believed he saw in its few words the suggestion of a general diagnostic principle that fitted into his career-long search for a medicine constructed from just such general principles.⁶

Our initial witness to this phase is the *questiones* on the *Aphorisms* prepared by master Bernard de Angarra of Montpellier, presumably identical with the Bernard Engarran who was treating the lord of Lunel (25 km. east of Montpellier) in 1294.⁷ We know far less about Angarra than we do about his two famous contemporaries at the school, Arnau de Vilanova and Bernard de Gordon, but student response to his lectures suggests that he was a particularly admired teacher. Angarra's analysis of the *Aphorisms* is preserved in a single copy, an Erfurt manuscript of the later 14th century, entitled there *Questiones super omnes amphorismos reportate*.⁸ In 70 folios it proceeds through the first six books of Hippocrates' work, just under 300 aphorisms in all, with the first two or three words of each aphorism serving as a lemma to introduce a question or two ('Vtrum...'), followed by arguments pro and con, an answer to the question, and responses to the rejected argument drawn both from authority and from experience. The *questio*-format allowed the master to take up whatever happened to interest him at that moment, using the very concrete statement of a particular aphorism to launch into an exploration of an intellectual problem that he perceived there, though the connection may not seem at all obvious to the modern reader. Because of the broad range of topics covered by the *Aphorisms*, the questions that Angarra puts forward provide remarkable insight into the scope and content of university medicine in the years around 1320, the approximate date of his composition. An edition of the text would obviously be of great interest.

⁶ Arnau de Vilanova 2015, pp. 91–102.

⁷ Wickersheimer 1936, p. 74.

⁸ Bernard de Angarra, *Questiones*. The manuscript and its contents are described by Schum (1887), p. 199. Schum gives the old foliation for this work, fols 40–115, which has today been renumbered so that Schum's folio '40' is now marked '(40) 39'. In this study I will cite its folios according to Schum's now parenthetical numeration. I am greatly indebted to Professor Luke Demaitre for making copies and transcriptions of this manuscript available to me, and for his consistently insightful judgements on it.

At the outset, of course, an editor would have to decide how to deal with the Galenic commentary that often has to be studied in order to make Angarra's commentary understandable, even if now it is in the form of *questiones*. Consider Angarra's treatment of II.43, STRANGVLATORVM. He asks, *Vtrum spuma possit generari per solam alterationem sine motu locali* ('Whether foam can be produced by qualitative change without local motion'), and declares that it cannot. He tells us that Galen disagrees with his judgement, but not why; then he develops his own argument, and finally gives a response to Galen, again without saying what Galen had argued.⁹ Can these references to Galen really stand on their own? Is it not necessary to give the reader direct access to Galen's argument, so that he can understand how Angarra is replying, and why? I have chosen an example where the appeal to Galen is explicit, but of course there are other *questiones* where Angarra is using Galen as a foil without mentioning his name – where if you looked at Galen's commentary, you would see that Angarra is debating him rather than Hippocrates. Once again, we are forced to ask, what should an editor do about this Galenic elephant in the room when editing an ostensibly Hippocratic commentary?

The contents of a second manuscript raise new and yet perhaps not so different issues about how to edit Angarra's *questiones*. MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 534, of the early 14th century, contains a scholar's notes upon a variety of sources; the first half concerning the arts, the second half, medicine.¹⁰ In this latter half are six folios that I believe contain a student's untitled notes made while hearing Angarra deliver an analysis of the *Aphorisms*:¹¹ one indication is that individual questions

⁹ *Vtrum spuma possit generari per solam alterationem sine motu locali. Videtur quod non, nam ad hoc per generetur requiritur mixtio humiditatis cum uentositate; ad hoc autem requiritur motus alterius istorum, quare etc. Item quamcumque aquam ab igne calefiat non fit nec obuiet uentositas humiditati, hoc autem est per motum, quare etc. Oppositum dicit G[alienum]. [...] Ad intentionem G[alieni], dicendum quod intendit fieri per alterationem solam per prima? commotus ab exteriori causa, non tamen excludendo motu uniuersaliter. Bernard de Angarra, *Questiones*, fol. 64^{va}.*

¹⁰ On this manuscript, its contents and its purposes, see now McVaugh 2019a.

¹¹ Bernard de Angarra, *Dubitata*. I have already developed aspects of this argument in McVaugh 2017 and McVaugh 2019a.

(‘Vtrum ...’) are often given in virtually the same words in both the Erfurt and Munich manuscripts. My tentative conclusion is that the Erfurt *Questiones* I first mentioned embody a text delivered and authorized by Angarra after some years of ‘reading’ the *Aphorisms* to students, and that the Munich manuscript reveals an earlier oral delivery. Over time he would naturally have altered or refined some of his conclusions and widened the scope of his arguments; he would not have recited the identical text to his students year after year in the same words. Rather, he saw many new things in the *Aphorisms* every time he read them. The *Questiones* are said in the Erfurt manuscript to have been ‘reportate’, which implies that they were based on a student transcript; often a master would go over such a transcript, changing it as he chose, before allowing it to be issued in his name, as I suspect happened in this case. There is therefore no reason to suppose that the language of the Munich questions (which from now on I will refer to as *Dubitata*, to distinguish them from the Erfurt *Questiones*) directly reflects the particular presentation that underlies the Erfurt text. If Angarra had continued to reformulate his questions in subsequent years after the time when the Munich scholar jotted them down, it could certainly explain why many but not all of the Munich questions agree verbally with the Erfurt ones.

If many of the formal questions are identical in the two texts, might we not expect to find close parallels in the answers too? It is not always easy to decide this, because the scholar’s résumé of the response to a question, in the Munich manuscript, is often powerfully compressed, with all the original detail excluded. For example, in the Erfurt text Angarra responded to the question he posed concerning II.43, STRANGVLATORVM (on whether foaming at the mouth entailed local motion), in 220 words; the author of the Munich *Dubitata* said simply, *Dicit sine aliquali motu non generatur, sed aliquando sufficit motus caloris, et hoc uult G.* (‘He says it can’t be generated without some kind of motion, but sometimes the motion of heat is enough, and that is Galen’s understanding’).¹² Perhaps he was a student who had a forthcoming examination in mind, and was only interested in Angarra’s final determination, ‘yes’ or ‘no’, as it were; in any event, such

¹² Bernard de Angarra, *Dubitata*, fol. 47^{va}.

succinct reformulations have little to suggest about the details of the master's original response. However, in a number of instances Munich reports the master's response to such a question fully enough to make it quite clear that not only the initial question but the organization and detail of the master's response too were identical with what he later wrote out in Erfurt. A good example is provided by II.18, EORVM QVI NVTRIVNTVR, where what is at issue is whether the stomach is nourished by the food it takes in or whether, like other members, it is nourished by its blood supply:

Vtrum stomachus nutriatur chylo. Dicit sic per auctoritatem A. in 3^o et G. in 3^a particula de uirtutibus naturalibus et Auerrois in sua theorica. Probat per duo signa, unum est quia stomachus cibum desiderat et delectatur in eo; aliud quia cibo accepto statim cessat fames, non unde repletus sed quia nutritus, quia si postea eicitur et euacuatur illa concauitas non statim redit famis. Si dicis desiderat cibum propter alia membra, tunc ageret secundum rationem licet a creatore sit ordinatus propter alia, unde sicut faciens pelles in ciuitate sit ordinatus propter alios ipse causam secundum se pecuniam et bonum proprium intendit. (Bernard de Angarra, *Dubitata*, fol. 46^{vb})

Videtur utrum stomachus naturali nutritione nutriatur ex chilo uel ex sanguine. [...] Oppositum dicit G. in precedenti amphorismo, scilicet stomachus primo recipere cibum, unde quidem sibi simile retinet ad sui nutritionem; cum autem sufficienter nutriatur, residuum ab eo emittitur. Item dicit amphorismo tercia particula de uirtutibus naturalibus. Item etiam dicit Auicenna primo canone capitulo de anothomia uenarum. [...] Item Auicenna tercio canone dicit quod stomachus quantum ad partes exteriores nutritur sanguine fluente per uenas ramificatas ab epate. [...] Dicendum quod secundum eos auctores dicentes de hoc dicunt stomachum naturaliter nutriri ex chilo quantum ad partem interiorum, et ad hoc ostendendum Auerrois secundo theorice sue ponit duo signa. Primum est desiderium naturale stomachi in cibo. [...] Et si dicatur quod stomachus non solum appetit cibum propter se sed propter alia membra, alterando ipsum ad hoc ut fiat conueniens nutrimentum sibi [...] hoc non sufficit sic nisi stomachus intenderet conuertere cibum in chilum non propter se sed propter aliud, iam operatio stomachi esset cum ratione proprii. [...] Constat autem quod ex cibi recepto in stomacho cessat fames antequam chilus exierit stomachum. [...] et si dicatur quod cessacio famis non contingit in eo quod

chilus stomachum nutriat, sed pro tanto quia concauitatem stomachi implet, ex cuius inancione fames inducitur, istud non sufficit, quoniam [...]. (Bernard de Angarra, *Questiones*, fols 54^{rb}–55^{ra})

It will be seen that in both cases the authorities cited are the same, and that Angarra has developed his argument both times under the same headings, with even some suggestive duplication of specific terminology, like *concauitas*. It is a strong indication that Angarra was satisfied with his treatment of this particular *questio* and did not bother to change it as time went on, and we can guess that a number of the other *questiones* did not undergo much change either.

In rare cases we can not only recognize that the Munich *Dubitata* reflect an oral lecture, as I have suggested is the case here, we can identify some of the actual language of that lecture even though it was not carried on down into the eventual *Questiones reportate*. This is apparent in the scholar's synopsis of II.42, which had stimulated Angarra to ask whether apoplexy can be cured. The written account in the Erfurt *Questiones* briefly credits Avicenna's *Canon*, book 3, with the statement that it can be cured, and gives no further detail (fol. 63^{rb}). But the scholar goes further in the Munich résumé and says that *alie secundum A[vicennam] curantur, unde iubet tardari sepulturam licet a mortuis non uideantur differre* ('according to Avicenna some can be cured, so he insists that we must not rush to bury them, even though they may seem to be quite dead').¹³ This is in fact a very close paraphrase of a passage in the chapter *De apoplexia* in book 3 of the *Canon*.¹⁴ I doubt very much that as he was scribbling away the scholar paused to look up the appropriate passage; I think it far more likely instead that in his lecture Angarra had quoted the vivid Avicennan remark, which struck his student's imagination and led him to note it down, and that Angarra some years later dropped the explicit quotation (though not the reference to the *Canon*) from his written *reportatio*.

¹³ Bernard de Angarra, *Dubitata*, fol. 47^{va}.

¹⁴ *Et propter hoc uolunt ut tardetur sepulture ambigui ex mortuis*; Avicenna 1507, III.1.4.12, fols 195^r–196^r.

Can we tell when either of these texts was composed? It happens that the Munich manuscript refers to Angarra as now dead, *quondam*; so these *Dubitata* are not the scholar's immediate transcript of what he heard, but a later copy made by the owner-scribe of this particular manuscript. Erik Kwakkel has proposed to me that the Munich manuscript appears to have been copied *c.* 1325, giving us a rough *terminus ante quem* for Angarra's death. As for a *terminus post quem*, the scholar records at one point that his master referred in his commentary to Averroes' *Colliget*, and there is reason to think that the *Colliget* (which had been translated as recently as 1285) began to be cited as an authoritative reference at Montpellier only after 1305 or 1310.¹⁵ We might very cautiously imagine that the Munich manuscript reports Angarra's lectures as they stood in 1310 or thereabouts, and that the Erfurt *reportatio* reflects his lectures of 1320 or so.

I have been suggesting that the close resemblance between the *questio* preserved in Angarra's version, its question and answer, and the version in the scholar's summary, allows us to conclude that in such instances the form of the final written text corresponds closely to an oral version that the scholar had heard some years before. Might we not also imagine that, when the scholar's account (in Munich) of question and answer differs from Angarra's written version (in Erfurt), it can again be treated as a witness to an earlier stage in Angarra's developing analysis of the Hippocratic aphorism, and that it shows that what first struck Angarra as of interest (and was noted down by the scholar at that time) was subsequently abandoned by him and replaced by something else that interested him more?

To illustrate this point, consider aphorism II.39, *SENE IVVENIBVS plerumque egrotant minus; quicumque uero egritudines eis cronice fiunt, multotiens commoriuntur* ('Old men generally have less illness than young men, but chronic illness in the old lasts until death'). The Munich text asks: *Vtrum senes minus egrotent quam iuuenes* ('Whether old men have less illness than young men'), and it goes on, *Dicendum egritudines uenientes ex uirtutis debilitate plus sunt in senibus, alie ex malicia regiminis minus*

¹⁵ A chronology for the arrival and assimilation of Averroes' medical writings at Montpellier in the years 1290–1320 is proposed in McVaugh 2019b.

(‘It is concluded that illnesses arising from weakness of strength are more frequent in the old, but those from a bad régime are less frequent’).¹⁶ The scholar had evidently heard his master explore simply the first part of the aphorism, and answer it by distinguishing between differently caused illnesses. But in Angarra’s final written text the aphorism has sparked a very different question, *Vtrum morbi diuturni sint frigidi* (‘Whether chronic illnesses arise from cold humors’) – that is, he is here reacting to the second part of the aphorism; nothing about a difference between the illnesses of the old and the young appears in the question as set out, or, indeed, in Angarra’s subsequent response to the question.¹⁷ The focus of his analysis has shifted; something has led him to discover a new and more important problem imbedded in II.39. Perhaps there was a collective shift of opinion taking place here within Montpellier’s community of masters, for there is a suggestion that Angarra’s later approach to the aphorism was becoming the standard approach of the school. When a later master there collected his *questiones disputate* on the aphorisms in 1334, it was that same issue that called for attention in his discussion of II.39, *Vtrum omnes morbi cronici sunt frigidi*, and the first half of the aphorism was again passed over.¹⁸

Another striking difference between the Erfurt and Munich texts is especially interesting. The very first of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* (I.1) is also by all odds the most famous:

VITA BREVIS, ars uero longa; tempus autem acutum, experimentum fallax, iudicium autem difficile. [...]

From the Middle Ages to the present day, physicians reflecting on those words have been led to raise fundamental questions about their practice: what medicine is, what doctors truly know, and what the limits of their power are. Bernard de Angarra’s older colleague at Montpellier, Arnau de Villanova, prepared a long (20,000-word) commentary on this one aphorism in 1301, in order to give his students a better understanding of what it was like to be a physician, of the problems they would always face in

¹⁶ Bernard de Angarra, *Dubitata*, fol. 47^{va}.

¹⁷ Bernard de Angarra, *Questiones*, fol. 62^{vb}.

¹⁸ Berengarius de Cumba, *Questiones*, fol. 171^{va}.

diagnosing and responding to a patient's illness – modern scholars still have no better introduction to the world of medieval medical practice than this discussion.¹⁹ Uniquely among the aphorisms, I.1 gives the commentator the opportunity to explore what matters most to him about the exercise of his art, and to share this with his students.

And indeed, in his formal *Questiones* on the *Aphorisms*, as he eventually set them down in writing, Angarra took full advantage of I.1 to explore exactly such matters: how much can medicine accomplish (*Vtrum uita per medicinam possit prolongari*)? how certain is medical knowledge (*Vtrum medicina sit scientia*)? can experience be trusted (*Vtrum experimentum sit fallax*)? His rich development of these questions goes on at greater length than does his commentary on any other single aphorism, taking up some 1500 words in the Erfurt manuscript (fol. 40^{rb-vb}). So it is quite surprising to discover a wholly superficial treatment of that aphorism reported in the scholar's summary of Angarra's earlier lectures:

Dubitatur utrum uita sit operatio seu uirtus. Credo dicendum quod uita non sit operatio quod patet quia non dicimus aliquam uidere uel audire quando non actu operatur hoc. Nullus igitur dicetur uiuens qui non operaretur actu. Vita non possit prolongari; patet quid dicat.²⁰

Even allowing for our scholar's habit of drastic summarization, this is an extraordinarily thin explication of the first Hippocratic aphorism, atypical in its questions and quite casual in its response. Comparing these two versions of the lectures again suggests that Angarra's approach to the aphorisms changed in the course of his teaching, that over time his discussion became deeper and more thoughtful and engaged with matters of shared interest within the Montpellier faculty, while the literal text of the aphorisms per se receded into the background for him.

Examples like these indicate, it seems to me, that the brief student *Dubitata* have the potential to contribute significantly to an edition of Angarra's *Questiones* in a number of ways, whether by exposing the changing intellectual framework in which Montpel-

¹⁹ Arnau de Vilanova 2015.

²⁰ Bernard de Angarra, *Dubitata*, fol. 44^{vb}.

lier studied the *Aphorisms*, altering the very questions that were being put to this ‘authoritative’ text, or by revealing the development of Angarra’s own thought in particular instances. I will conclude by offering a comparatively detailed example that illustrates particularly well Hippocrates’ changing meaning for Montpellier, an example that builds on knowledge that we happen to have about certain intellectual developments at the school at this moment in its history. At the end of the 13th century the faculty reacted with great enthusiasm to a treatise composed by Arnau de Vilanova, his *Aphorismi de gradibus* (from about 1295), that described how to measure the qualitative intensity of medicinal activity. It measured the hotness or coldness of a medicine by a hypothetical ratio between the numbers of its hot and cold parts, in a mathematical system devised by the Arab philosopher Alkindi (Yaʿqūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindi); and it laid weight on the difference between qualitative extension and intensity as it developed the idea that every medicine had a *prima quantitas*, a quantity below which it could not manifest its qualitative effect. The system was widely taken up by the Montpellier faculty in the early years of the 14th century.²¹

And we can see that these discussions were very much on Angarra’s mind when he commented, perhaps c. 1310, on aphorism II.17 (called VBICVMQVE CIBVS) to the author of the Munich *Dubitata* and his fellow-students. The aphorism states that *Vbicumque cibus preter naturam intrat, hic egritudinem facit* (‘Whenever more food is consumed than the body can stand, illness is caused’). This is the aphorism that I referred to at the beginning of this paper, where I showed that in 1250 or so master Cardinalis stayed close to a brief and literal exposition of Hippocrates’ text. Sixty years later, Angarra’s mind has leaped from quantity of food as a possible cause of disease to a subject Hippocrates never thought of, the more general issue (at that moment very topical in Montpellier) of the effect of medicinal quantity and quality on human health. In Munich, he used the aphorism to introduce his students to these new ideas in two *dubitata*. First, can food cause illness by its qualitative properties alone? No, he said, since for a substance’s qualities to act there must also be a certain amount of that substance present – less will not act. He had obviously been

²¹ Arnau de Vilanova 1975; McVaugh 1969.

won over to the Arnaldian idea of a *prima quantitas*.²² Second, Angarra went on to ask, can any substance display any degree of intensity whatever? This question took him even further from the aphorism, and from Hippocrates, and again it has emerged out of that same discussion launched by Arnau's treatise, which had suggested to a few masters that by increasing the quantity of a medicine its qualitative action would become stronger and could attain any degree. Angarra answers their contention by referring them explicitly to Alkindi's teaching that hotness is defined by a numerical relation between imagined hot and cold parts, a relation that will be the same in a given substance no matter how much you take of it; that is, he is using the Hippocratic aphorism to introduce his students to the school's new understanding of the relation between intensity and extension.²³ Even in the terse Munich summary you can sense Angarra's original excitement at the technical mathematics of the new ideas.

But by the time he came to formalize his *Questiones* on the *Aphorisms*, some years later, Angarra had evidently become less enthusiastic about these ideas. This time, in a first question, he chose to stick closely to Hippocrates' statement and to begin by asking whether it was really the quantity of the food that causes the illness; now using Galen's commentary (never mentioned in the Munich résumé), he denied that quantity of food could be by itself the cause.²⁴ The second question, on the other hand, harks

²² [1] *Vtrum cibus solum ratione qualitatis causet egritudinem*. Dicit quod non, quia non agit nisi quantitate determinata; nec quantitate absolute causat egritudinem, quia in eadem quantitate bonus facit bonum et malus malum, nec per ista duo sed in comparatione ad uirtutem. Bernard de Angarra, *Dubitata*, fol. 46^{vb}.

²³ [2] *Vtrum quelibet res sit in quolibet gradu*. Dicendum quod complexio mixti sibi debetur ex qualitate elementorum proportionem, unde Iacobus alchindi distinguit gradus ex proportionem calidi et frigidi humidi et sicci ad inuicem, ut si in mixto sint xvi partes calidi et una frigidi erunt calidum in quarto, et sic de aliis; hec autem proportio est in toto et in parte eadem. Quod autem agit in corpore nostro debet esse in quantitate debita secundum Galienum; quod enim unum granum piperis non ledit secundum quod multum, hoc est quia non est in quantitate debita. Bernard de Angarra, *Dubitata*, fol. 46^{vb}.

²⁴ [1] *Queritur utrum cibus noceat ratione quantitatis*. Videtur quod non. Dicit enim G. in littera quod si stomachus sit fortis, possibile est cibum stomachum implentem posse digerere; constat autem quod ille implecio est multe quantitatis et tamen non nocet cum digeratur, quare etc. [...] Oppositum patet ad sensum. Et dicendum quod cum quantitas cibi est superflua in comparatione ad

back to the earlier *disputata* and reworks virtually everything he had said there. It accepts that one can define a medicine's degree by its proportion of hot parts to cold, though Angarra now seems to have abandoned Alkindi's intricate computations in favor of much simpler ones put forward by Averroes, and he recognizes that this means that any amount of a medicine, however small, will in principle have the same degree of qualitative intensity, but he has become rather dismissive of such abstract formulations: this kind of inflexible (*absoluta*) principle is not medical, he says, rather it is more natural-philosophical or mathematical. A medical understanding of degree, he tells his students, focuses on a medicine's observable effect on the human body, which can only be produced by some measurable *quantitas determinata* of the drug.²⁵ In the light of the earlier *Dubitata*, we can perceive how

uasa, cum in uenis continui non possit, eo quod maiorem locum expedit, sequitur uenarum crepatura aut caloris naturalis suffocacio, sicut uidemus in lampade cum oleum superhabundat. [...] Ad primum dicendum quod quantitas cibi absolute non nocet, dummodo sit proportionalis uirtuti, unde si cibus sit magne quantitatis, si uirtus ipsum uincere potest, non nocet, et hoc est quod intendit G. Bernard de Angarra, *Questiones*, fols 52^{vb}–53^{ra}.

²⁵ [2] Videtur utrum cibus ratione qualitatis noceat. Videtur quod sic per illud: cibus per quem habet uirtutem transmutandi corpus a naturali dispositione; constat autem quod hoc est per qualitatem, quare etc. Item per diuisionem primarum qualitatum distinguuntur gradus; constat autem quod existentia in quarto uel tercio gradu nocent. [...] Oppositum dicit G in littera: si aliqua sint contraria in qualitate nostro corpori, maxime ut opium et mandragora, igitur si in modica quantitate sumantur, nihil [?] ex hoc nocumentum corpori inficiunt, quia ratione qualitatis absolute non nocent. Ad quod in corporibus homogeneis in maiori [*sic*] corpore est maior uirtus et in minori [*sic*] minor, et cum in corporibus naturalibus sic ponere minima secundum quantitatem, in huiusmodi corpore erit minima uirtus, pro quanto tale corpus habens minimam uirtutem minime resistere. [...] Quia omnis qualitas absolute non habet uirtutem transmutandi corpus nisi sub quantitate determinata, hinc est quod non nocet nisi sub huiusmodi quantitate; et hoc est quod dicit G, quod ratione qualitatis absolute non fit nocumentum, sicut in euforbio <et> opio experimur, que tamen sub quantitate determinata sunt corrumpencia corpus. Ad primum dicendum quod per qualitatem absolute non debetur corpori accio nisi sit in quantitate accioni proporcionalis. Ad aliud dicendum quod distincio graduum uno modo est per diuisionem qualitatis alicuius, ita quod calida in primo habent tres partes calidas et unam frigidam, calida in secundo quatuor, in tercio [...]. Alio modo sumitur per comparacionem ad corpus nostrum, ita quod conueniencia [?]coniu[n]cta[?] in primo non alterant corpus sensibiliter nisi post longum tempus; in secundo alterant sed non ledunt nisi post longum tempus saltem sensibiliter; in tercio autem ledunt sensibiliter sed non corrumpunt subito; in quarto autem corrumpunt. Constat autem quod non insunt [?] ista nisi in quantitate determinata, unde extrema in quarto gradu subito modica quantitate percipi in corpore possunt; quod [?] nullo modo sentitur corpus <non> alterant.

much Angarra's thinking has evolved, moving away from uncritical excitement over mathematical theories towards more realistic reflection on the things that actually matter to a practicing physician. It fits with other signs hinting that the school's enthusiasm for a mathematical pharmacy may have begun to wane after a few decades. In any case, Hippocrates' original concerns were still serving as a springboard for discussions of topics of current interest at Montpellier.

2. Conclusion

I will sum up with a question, or rather two, both of which turn on how restrictive we should be in editing a medieval commentary on an authoritative text. In such an edition, we certainly need to provide the words of the text being commented on. But Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* is evidently an unusual kind of authoritative text. As a collection of individual summary truths touching on everything in medicine and human nature, it was hard for medieval commentators to understand the work as an intelligible whole, and they came to depend heavily on Galen's own detailed commentary on the *Aphorisms* to help them interpret its authority and meaning. To what extent, if at all, does the text of Galen's enormous commentary, which commentators so often quote from and debate with, need to accompany the *Aphorisms* in an edition of a medieval commentary on the latter work? It may seem

Si tamen sub illa quantitate reciperentur sub qua recipitur nutrimentum conueniens corrumpent, et sub tali quantitate reponentur in gradum secundum intencionem medicorum. Et si dicitur quod uno granu piperis et in modico est eadem proportio calidi aliquem formam quantitas habeat [?hanc?] proporcionem, non tollit, quia cum modicum dicatur in quarto gradu et unum granum. Item piper absolute dicitur in quarto gradu, quia cum in uno grano natura piperis dicitur in quarto et constat quod non per quantitatem sed qualitatem, quia cum operet [??] in gradu ratione illius ratione cuius in gradu imponitur noceat, ratione qualitatis absolute nocebit. Dicendum cum medicus non ponit gradus nisi per comparacionem ad corpus in alterando, ledendo, uel corrumpendo, cum ad huiusmodi operationes faciendas exigatur qualitas in quantitate operacioni proportionali, hinc est quod <non?> intendit ea in gradu nisi sub tali quantitate, et ideo dicens piper in quarto gradu, intendit de pipere illa quantitate sub quem habet uirtutem corrumpendi corpus; et constat quod hoc non est sub quantitate unius grani et mille mediis [?], et ideo quantum ad hoc eiusdem gradus erunt. Sed hec consideracio absoluta non est medicinalis sed naturalis magis uel mathematica. Bernard de Angarra, *Questiones*, fol. 53^{ra-rb}.

appropriate to incorporate Galen's commentary into an edition of a medieval commentary on one particular aphorism, as was done in our recent edition of Arnau de Vilanova's commentary on *IN MORBIS MINVS*, yet there may be practical limits to this approach: reluctantly, we decided that considerations of space and cost ruled out accompanying Arnau's 20,000-word commentary on *VITA BREVIS* with a transcription of Galen's 13,500-word commentary on that same aphorism, a decision that has not found favor with all readers. And to transcribe the whole of Galen's commentary on the *Aphorisms* in editing a much shorter medieval commentary on that work might well seem disproportionate.

Furthermore, if we should decide that it can be appropriate to include other textual material in an edition of a commentary on an authoritative text, what considerations should determine 'appropriateness'? Consider the case of Bernard de Angarra's *Questiones*. Our student *Dubitata* show us an earlier stage of those *Questiones*, they reveal what was at the back of Angarra's mind as he drew up the final written version, and they may help us understand how the Montpellier faculty's reaction to the *Aphorisms* evolved over the course of time. Would it be important in an edition of Angarra's *Questiones* to include the *Dubitata* as well, despite the fact that they filter his thoughts through a second mind? And if so, in what form? Or should such an edition be limited strictly to a presentation of Angarra's *Questiones* in their final form as approved by him, frozen at a moment in time like a fly in amber for future scholars to study, once and for all, with no detailed exploration of their previous history?

The more I think about it, the more I am convinced that no answer to these questions can be universally valid, especially given my own recent experience in editing Arnau de Villanova's Hippocratic commentaries. When the Editorial Committee reluctantly decided that it was impracticable to accompany Arnau's commentary on *VITA BREVIS* with Galen's long commentary on the same aphorism, a generally admiring reviewer of the published volume nevertheless immediately called attention to this decision as conspicuously regrettable.²⁶ Scholars like this one are perfectly

²⁶ 'The commentary on aphorism 2.34 [...] is preceded by Galen's commentary on the same aphorism in the translation usually attributed to Constantine

reasonable in wanting and even expecting text-editors to incorporate as much complementary textual material as possible into their edition; for them, the bar for ‘appropriateness’ is set relatively low, and they would almost certainly share my personal inclination to publish both sets of Bernard de Angrarra’s commentaries. It thus becomes the practical concerns of a publisher, ultimately those of cost and space, that will tend to govern the decision in individual cases. Now to find a sympathetic publisher for Bernard ...

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Arnau de Vilanova (1975), *Aphorismi de gradibus*, ed. M. R. McVaugh, Granada, Barcelona: Universidad de Granada (Opera Medica Omnia Arnaldi de Villanova, 2) (repr. with indices 1992).
- Arnau de Vilanova (2015), *Expositio super aphorismo Hippocratis ‘In morbis minus’; Repetitio super aphorismo Hippocratis ‘Vita brevis’*, ed. M. McVaugh & F. Salmón, Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona–Fundació Noguera (Opera Medica Omnia Arnaldi de Villanova, 14).
- Avicenna (1507), *Liber canonis*, Venice: Paganinum de Paganinis (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964).
- Berengarius de Cumba (Thumba), *Questiones super amporismos* (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, D.I.11).
- Bernardus de Angarra, *Dubitata in amporismos Ypocratis* (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 534, fols 44^v–50^v).
- Bernardus de Angarra, *Questiones super omnes amporismos reportate* (Erfurt, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek, Amplon. F. 290, fols 40–115).

the African. This is a clever editorial decision, letting the modern reader understand better the impact of the Galenic commentary on Arnau’s commentary. It is regrettable that the volume’s editors refrained from doing likewise when they presented Arnau’s commentary on aphorism 1.1 without its Galenic precursor. Since the editors themselves convincingly show that in many respects Arnau’s commentary may be described more as an exposition of Galen’s commentary on the Hippocratic aphorisms than as an exposition of the aphorisms themselves, when renewed attention to Galen was transforming scholastic medicine, the absence of the original Galenic commentary in this particular case is all the more conspicuous’. Ziegler 2016.

Secondary Literature

- M. McVaugh (1969), 'Quantified Medical Theory and Practice at Fourteenth-Century Montpellier', in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 43, pp. 397–413.
- M. McVaugh (2011), 'Ars Longa', in *Micrologus*, 19, pp. 325–48.
- M. McVaugh (2017), 'In a Montpellier Classroom', in G. Manning & C. Klestinec (eds), *Professors, Physicians and Practices in the History of Medicine. Essays in Honor of Nancy Siraisi*, New York: Springer, pp. 57–76.
- M. McVaugh (2019a), 'A Miscellany? Or the Evolution of a Mind? MS Munich Clm 534', in *Micrologus*, 27, pp. 71–86.
- M. McVaugh (2019b), 'Averroes Comes to Montpellier', in *De l'homme, de la nature et du monde: Mélanges d'histoire des sciences médiévales offerts à Danielle Jacquart*, Paris: Droz, pp. 21–36.
- C. O'Boyle (1998), *The Art of Medicine: Medical Teaching at the University of Paris, 1250–1400*, Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- W. Schum (1887), *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt*, Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
- F. Wallis (2011), 'Why Was the Aphorisms of Hippocrates Retranslated in the Eleventh Century?', in R. Wisnovsky & al. (eds), *Vehicles of Transmission, Translation, and Transformation in Medieval Textual Culture*, Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 173–93.
- E. Wickersheimer (1936), *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au Moyen Age*, Paris: Droz.
- J. Ziegler (2016), review of Arnau de Vilanova (2015), *Expositio super aphorismo Hippocratis 'In morbis minus'; Repetitio super aphorismo Hippocratis 'Vita brevis'*, ed. M. McVaugh & F. Salmón, Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona–Fundació Noguera (Opera Medica Omnia Arnaldi de Villanova, 14), in *The Medieval Review*, 16.09.02 (URL: <https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/22563/28499>).

Abstract

The Hippocratic writings, particularly the *Aphorisms*, were an important object of commentaries at the medical faculty of Montpellier c. 1300. In editing such commentaries, how much complementary material should be incorporated into the edition? Masters regularly discussed Galen's very much longer commentary on each aphorism as well as the pithy aphorism itself; does the text of the Galenic commentary need to be incorporated into the edition? A similar question is raised by the existence of student notes on Bernard de Angarra's commentary on the *Aphorisms* that antedate his own more finished commentary produced several years later, and reveal that his thinking – and perhaps that of Montpellier more generally – had evolved during that period. Should those early student notes be published in an edition of Angarra's more authoritative version? In both cases the desirability of the extra material seems clear, if the publisher can be convinced to underwrite the extra expense.

MARINA GIANI

KU Leuven

TEXTUAL FEATURES
AND EDITORIAL CHALLENGES
POSED BY THE *LIBER GLOSSARUM*
SOME REMARKS ON THE QUOTATIONS
FROM AUGUSTINE'S
*DE GENESI AD LITTERAM**

1. *Introduction*

The esteemed classical philologist Martin Wallace Lindsay forestalled any criticism of his 1926 *Liber glossarum* edition with these words:¹

iis omnibus sufficiat unum responsum: defuerunt nummi.
Siquis tamen pigritiam nobis obiciet quia taedio uicti aliquot
locos Augustini Hieronymi Gregorii aliorum patrum non
indagauimus, interdum in incerta nota acquieuius, habebit
confitentes reos.²

Lindsay was aware that his work still needed to be refined, but he decided to publish it anyway: he thought the additional knowledge gained from a detailed edition of the *Liber glossarum* was not worth the titanic effort to publish it *in extenso*. The *Liber glossarum* (henceforth, *Lg*) is indeed a particularly challenging and fascinating research topic, not only because of its obscure origin and its – until recently – mostly undervalued relevance in the history of medieval culture, but also owing to the particular features

* I am most grateful to Paolo Chiesa, Rossana Guglielmetti, Shari Boodts, Jérémy Delmulle and the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments to earlier versions of this article. I would also like to thank Anne Grondeux and Franck Cinato for having invited me to contribute to the ERC StG project *LibGloss*.

¹ *Glossarium Ansileubi*, p. 13.

² 'Let this answer suffice against those (who criticize the defectiveness of this edition): funding dried up. If they accuse us of being lazy, since we have not investigated some passages of Augustine's, Jerome's, Gregory's and other Church Fathers' works, or we have done it slovenly, due to boredom, we will confess our guilt'.

of its text and textual tradition.³ In 2016, a European research project coordinated by Anne Grondeux led to the publication of the first complete edition of the *Lg*, while also providing much information about its origin and transmission.⁴ In this article I will discuss the challenges I tackled in my attempt to produce a critical edition of a sample of *Lg* entries borrowed from Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* in the framework of my PhD thesis.⁵ The features of the *Lg* and theories about its origin are presented in the first section. The second section deals with ecdotic problems commonly posed by late antique and early medieval glossaries and commentaries on authoritative texts, which partly overlap with those raised by the *Lg* – the reason why this essay is included in the present volume. The third section is focused on the role of *emendatio* in the edition of the *Lg*. Here I will state my awareness of the problems presented by this encyclopedic glossary, rather than offering a satisfactory solution to them. Indeed, my perspective on the topic is limited, and, as discussed below, further research is required to integrate (and go beyond) the following remarks.

2. *The Liber glossarum*

The *Lg* is an extensive encyclopedic glossary.⁶ As one can infer from this definition, the work blends two different paraliterary

³ Medieval authors employed the *Lg* as a repository of knowledge, reworking and combining its information to compile new treatises and glossaries. For instance, it was used by the anonymous compiler of the *Glosae in Regula Benedicti*, the main source of Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel's commentary on the *Regula Benedicti* (see van der Meer 2016 and *Glosae in regula Sancti Benedicti* pp. vii–viii and lxiii–lxvii). For an overview of the glossaries derived from the *Lg* (shortened and *roborati*) see Cinato 2015a and *Liber glossarum digital*. Sedulius Scotus used a copy of the *Lg* to gloss Vegetius' *De re militari* (see von Büren 2002, pp. 273–75, 278–80). Furthermore, the *Lg* has been exploited as a source for the composition of the *De situ orbis*, an anonymous geographical treatise written in the 9th century (see Barbero 1990, pp. 164–73), of Abbo of Saint-Germain's *Bella Parisiacae Urbis* (see Ganz 1993, p. 129) and of *versio* B (C according to Vignodelli's classification) of Atto of Vercelli's *Perpendiculum* (see Vignodelli 2017 pp. 384, 401–03, 411–12 and Vignodelli 2018 pp. 178–80). The *Lg* is also the main source of Papias' *Elementarium* (see, e.g., De Angelis 1997).

⁴ See *Liber glossarum digital*.

⁵ Giani 2017, pp. 149–300.

⁶ To approach the study of the *Lg*, besides the pioneering article Goetz 1891 and the most up-to-date source of information, *Liber glossarum digital*, one can

genres, and it does so in such an original way that it is largely unparalleled in the early medieval Latin West. It has the structure of a glossary: it is composed of an impressive number of entries, each of which comprises a lemma and an *interpretamentum*; the latter can be as short as a single word or, alternatively, it can fill up to three manuscript pages. This is the reason why the *Lg* may also be defined as an encyclopedia: its entries are often shaped as short treatises on the subjects announced by the lemmata. Sometimes the compilers merely copied long passages from their sources, with very few alterations; other times they carefully reworked and combined them in order to create a new and consistent text.⁷ The entries were not only shaped to fit in lemma-explanation pairs, but also arranged in a strict alphabetical order.⁸ In addition, many of them include labels that reveal their sources.⁹

Another original feature of the *Lg* is its extraordinary length. It contains no fewer than 55,000 entries, far more than the ones collected in the *Souda*, the famous Greek lexicon composed in the 10th century.¹⁰

start with the following articles, which present a synthetic and exhaustive overview with an essential bibliography: De Angelis 1984; Barbero 1990; Barbero 1993; Ganz 1993; Huglo 2001; Gatti 2004; Grondeux 2009.

⁷ To learn more about the compilers' method of selecting, combining and reworking their sources, see, e.g., Barbero 1987, pp. 27–163; Barbero 1990, pp. 151–64; Grondeux 2011; Grondeux 2013; most of the articles appeared in *Dossiers d'H.E.L. 2015. L'activité lexicographique dans le haut Moyen Âge latin. Rencontre autour du Liber Glossarum* and in *Dossiers d'H.E.L. 2016 Le Liber glossarum (s. VII–VIII): Composition, sources, réception*, and Giani 2017, pp. 39–148.

⁸ The adoption of the alphabetical order for encyclopedic material implies that the compilers of the *Lg* were not interested in conveying a personal idea of *paideia* or an axiological ranking of different fields of study, as encyclopedic authors usually do. Instead, they organized their material in a user-friendly manner: the finished product was designed for sporadic consultation and not meant to be read from beginning to end.

⁹ For the use of tags, see Grondeux 2015c; Giani 2016 and Giani 2017, pp. 39–148.

¹⁰ Adler 1931, col. 679. The earliest witnesses of the *Lg* are typically in *folio*. Their weight varies from 11 to 13 kilos each and their text is usually divided into three columns. This editorial arrangement, which is very rare in the first centuries of the Middle Ages, seems typical of glossaries and reference works in particular. Bischoff 1961, p. 179 first introduced the idea that the compilers of the *Lg* might have been inspired by a copy of Isidore's *Etymologiae* similar to El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, &I.14 (CLA XI, no. 1635), a manuscript written in Córdoba between the end of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th. Huglo 2001, p. 26, n. 30 compares the *Lg* arrangement to the one of the New York Bible

The *Lg* was conceived as a repository of human knowledge: its entries cover a broad range of fields, including *artes liberales* (especially *grammatica*), medicine, history, and zoology. The most widely exploited source is Isidore's *Etymologiae*, which has been almost entirely lemmatized and transcribed into the *Lg*.¹¹ Furthermore, it is important to mention previous glossaries, such as that of Placidus,¹² and Patristic sources, including primarily Augustine and Jerome, but also Gregory the Great and Ambrose.¹³

The amount and breadth of information gathered in the *Lg* is extraordinary, considering the resources available to its compilers. We can take the date of the earliest extant manuscripts, namely the years between the end of the 8th century and the 820s as a *terminus ante quem* for its composition.¹⁴ The *terminus post quem* is more difficult to pinpoint. Giliola Barbero noticed that some glosses come from a metrical treatise, the *Ars metrica* attributed to Bonifacius/Wynfrith, a well-known Anglo-Saxon missionary on the continent who died in 754. Unfortunately, this attribution is not completely certain.¹⁵ Moreover, Cécile Conduché has recently claimed that the relationship between the *Lg* and the *Ars metrica* might be reversed: the *Ars* would depend on the *Lg* and not vice versa.¹⁶ Be that as it may, if we exclude this work, the

fragment (Pierpont Morgan Library, P. 27, 9th century. See CLA XI, no. 1654). According to Loewe, these two manuscripts could have been written in the same scriptorium as the 10th century Madrid Bible (Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 13–1 [olim Tolet. 2–1], <http://bdh.bne.es/bnsearch/detalle/bdh0000022964>), and as Isidore's *Chronica continuatio* attributed to *Isidorus Pacensis*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 81 (+ London, British Library, Egerton 1934), written at the end of the 8th century (CLA II, no. 195). All these manuscripts show a three-column editorial arrangement. Another Iberian three-column manuscript is Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 80, a patristic and exegetical miscellany written in Córdoba in the 9th century. I am grateful to Rossana Guglielmetti for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

¹¹ Studies on Isidore's oeuvre and the *Lg* are: von Büren 2007; von Büren 2012; Grondeux 2015a, pp. 68–73 and Grondeux 2016, pp. 5–6.

¹² Edited in *Placidus. Liber Glossarum*, pp. 3–158 and *Placidus. Festus* pp. 5–70.

¹³ An overview of the *Lg* sources is offered by Barbero 1987; Barbero 1990; Huglo 2001 and by the articles in the *Dossier d'H.E.L.* 2015 and 2016 (see n. 7).

¹⁴ See below, p. 73. It cannot have been written after 827, the year of Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel's death. See above, n. 3.

¹⁵ Barbero 1990, pp. 161–64.

¹⁶ Conduché 2016, pp. 142–44.

latest source quoted is the *Ars grammatica* attributed to Julian of Toledo and dated around 680.¹⁷ Consequently, we can argue that the *Lg* was completed between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 9th century, presumably by a team of compilers working under the supervision of an anonymous project coordinator.

Three main theories about the work's origin have been put forward. Georg Goetz, the first editor of the *Lg* at the beginning of the 20th century, claimed that it was written in Spain sometime between the end of the 7th century and the first half of the 8th. This hypothesis is mostly based on the sources of the compilation: Goetz observed that the majority of these came from Spain and that some of them were very rare.¹⁸ Lindsay, who published his own edition of the *Lg* less than thirty years after the one by Goetz, claimed that it had a Frankish origin instead and dated it to the end of the 8th century. His hypothesis was based on the origin of two of the oldest manuscripts, P (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 11529–11530) and its twin codex C, only partially extant (Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 693 + Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 55, fols 1 and 150 + Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, fragm. Aug. 140).¹⁹ Lindsay's hypothesis was almost universally accepted²⁰ until Veronika von Büren formulated a third hypothesis, claiming an Italian origin for the *Lg*. Von Büren closely links its production with the twenty-book edition of Isidore's *Etymologiae* that was prepared, according to her, by Theodulf of Orléans and other Carolingian scholars in Northern Italy.²¹ The Spanish hypothesis has recently been reaffirmed by Grondeux, who leans towards it on the basis of internal and external criteria, underlining the presence in the *Lg* of Spanish sources available in Seville and in Zaragoza in the 7th century.²² She argues that the compilation of the *Lg* was

¹⁷ Conduché 2016, pp. 146–53.

¹⁸ Goetz 1891, pp. 77–78; Goetz 1923, pp. 107–08 and Wessner's *Addenda* at pp. 331–32.

¹⁹ Lindsay 1917, pp. 126–27; *Glossarium Ansileubi*, p. 8; Lindsay 1937, p. 5. See below n. 24.

²⁰ It was accepted, among others, by Bernhard Bischoff. See Bischoff 1972, p. 412.

²¹ von Büren 2007; von Büren 2012 and von Büren 2015.

²² As Goetz has already pointed out, some of the Spanish sources are very rare, such as the *Peregrinatio Egeriae* and the *De haeresibus* attributed to Isidore, both

a process that unfolded throughout the 7th century: it commenced, according to her, in Isidore's *scriptorium* in Seville and was continued in Zaragoza. Then, during the Arab conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, a copy was brought to the monastery of Reichenau, where some Visigoth refugees had sought asylum.²³

The three oldest manuscripts of the *Lg* are the above-mentioned P and C, written in the so-called Corbie *ab-scriptorium* between the end of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th, and L, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1773, written in the early years of the 9th century, maybe in Southern France.²⁴ Goetz argued for the existence of an archetype and divided the tradition into two branches: the so-called *Palatinusklasse* and the *Parisinusklasse*.²⁵ In his (partial) edition he transcribed the oldest complete witness of the *Parisinusklasse*, P, and recorded in the apparatus the variant readings of L, the main witness of the other manuscript family.²⁶ James Frederick Mountford, one of Lindsay's collaborators, first suggested that two witnesses, T (Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 850, written in Tours in the 9th century) and V (Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale, 113–113bis, written at the beginning of the 11th century), might form a third branch. Nonetheless,

transmitted in only one manuscript in the direct tradition. See, e.g., Chiesa 2015, Pirovano 2016 and Martin-Iglesias 2018.

²³ In Grondeux's opinion, Isidore sent to Braulio – along with the famous *Etymologiae* codex – the sources that he had collected and quoted in his encyclopedia. The *Lg* compilers in Zaragoza exploited both Isidore's sources (partly reworked by Isidore himself) and his works. See Grondeux 2015a; Grondeux 2016, pp. 4–6; Holtz 2016, p. 360; Cinato 2016 and the papers presented by Grondeux and Cinato at the *VII Congreso Internacional de Latín Medieval Hispánico* Salamanca 2017 and at the workshop *Editing Late-Antique and Early Medieval Texts. Problems and Challenges* Lisboa 2017, forthcoming. Cécile Conduché suggested that the *Lg* might have originated in Toledo, as a work-in-progress in the grammar school *milieu* (cf. Conduché 2016, p. 153).

²⁴ Regarding the Corbie *ab-script* manuscripts, cf. CLA V, no. 611; VI, no. 743 and VIII, no. 1130; Bishop 1978; Ganz 1993, pp. 127–35; Ganz 1990, pp. 48–55; Ganz-Goulet 2014. Regarding the Vatican manuscript, see Bischoff 1989, pp. 130–31; Bischoff 2014, no. 6595, p. 421. In 830 it was mentioned in the Lorsch library catalogue as *liber grandis glossarum* (Häse 2002, p. 321, nr. 388).

²⁵ Goetz 1891, pp. 24–34.

²⁶ Goetz's classification has recently been confirmed by Gatti 2004 and Gatti 2010. See also Grondeux-Cinato 2014.

Lindsay and Mountford decided to take readings of T and V into account only sporadically, owing to their supposed unreliability as witnesses.²⁷ Fifty-four years later, Terence Alan Bishop claimed that P and C's common ancestor (a manuscript, according to him, chiefly made up of loose leaves) was the 'prototype' of this glossary.²⁸ His hypothesis, based on an accurate codicological and paleographical analysis of P and C, which is still valid as regards the copying methods adopted in the *ab-scriptorium*, should be rejected in light of the textual data: since one or two other branches besides the *Parisinusklasse* survive, the common ancestor of P and C cannot be the manuscript from which the entire tradition stems.²⁹ Recently, Grondeux and Franck Cinato have drawn up the first *stemma codicum* of the *Lg*. It has three branches (*Parisinusklasse*, *Palatinusklasse* and 'réfection tourangelle', as they have named the third one, represented by T and V) and no archetype.³⁰

We have neither external nor internal clues that help us to reconstruct who was expected to read this encyclopedic glossary and for what purpose. Apparently, it can be interpreted as a sort of 'treasury of knowledge': a reference book, authoritative in itself, used to compile short treatises, to check the meaning of unknown words and to learn the basics of a discipline.³¹

²⁷ Their ancestor frequently intervened in the text, in order to improve it. See Mountford 1924 and also below, n. 30 and 45.

²⁸ Bishop 1978.

²⁹ The contradiction between the bipartition of the stemma and the identification of P as the *Lg* prototype has already been noted by Barbero 1990, p. 152.

³⁰ Grondeux-Cinato 2014 (draft version of the stemma, with two branches), Grondeux 2015b and *Liber glossarum digital* (final version, with three branches). In their opinion, the 'réfection tourangelle' is a sort of revised edition of the *Lg* produced in the Tours area in the 9th century. Cinato asserts the existence of an archetype, even though he does not draw it at the top of the stemma (Cinato 2016, p. 60). See also Giani 2017, pp. 152–59 and 171–207.

³¹ McKitterick 2012, p. 74 gives a general definition of medieval glossaries combining encyclopedic material as 'treasuries of knowledge'. One of the most characteristic features of the *Lg* is its constant and widespread tendency to excise from the sources every passage providing a non-literal interpretation. This means that there we do not find moral, allegorical or figurative interpretations of physical phenomena or characters. For the *Lg* legacy in medieval culture, see *supra*, n. 3.

3. *Editing Medieval Glossaries and Commentaries*

Editors of anonymously transmitted medieval compilations, such as glossaries, commentaries, and florilegia, are forced to deal with the fluidity and instability of their transmission. This feature is due to the almost complete lack of authorship that characterizes these works, as well as to their utilitarian nature. It is often hard to set a distinction between a mere copy and a new version of a given text, and to map out the relations between its different versions. The modular structure of glossaries, in particular, made it easier for compilers to excise and add material drawn from multiple sources, some of which are now lost. Furthermore, these compilations were repeatedly abridged, expanded and reshaped so as to match the ever-changing needs and tastes of their audience. This situation gave birth to a vast number of manuscripts testifying to different versions of the same glossaries, with partial overlaps in various combinations. It has been stated that every copy of a glossary is a new text and that, consequently, with this kind of work the reconstructive editing method should be rejected. The difficulty in drawing a clear distinction between original version, new version and copy and, therefore, between author, compiler, and copyist is a real problem, and not an easy one to tackle. It is also noteworthy that sometimes the version of the glossary from which the whole surviving tradition stems does not represent the most interesting and influential step in the history of the work itself: it might have had very little influence or circulation, whereas one of its reworked versions might have been the most widely read and copied.³² The rejection of reconstructive ambitions can also be understood as a reaction to the old-school tendency to reconstruct the text of supposed ancient Ur-glossaries that are nowadays lost, and which are assumed to be the starting point for glossaries still preserved in manuscripts. That was Lindsay's goal, and his editions in the *Glossaria Latina* series are mostly reconstructive: they present the text

³² These considerations are drawn from two cornerstones in the theoretical and methodological reflection on medieval glossaries and commentaries, Dionisotti 1996 and Guglielmetti 2013, and from the draft paper presented by Guglielmetti at the International Congress *Forme di accesso al sapere in età tardoantica e altomedievale*, (University of Milan, 26–28 October 2016) 'Glosse bibliche ed editori: una rassegna di problemi e soluzioni', forthcoming.

of a conjectured ancestor of surviving glossaries. This sort of *reductio ad unum* has led to the publication of an arbitrary text very different to the ones actually witnessed by extant manuscripts.³³ As Anna Carlotta Dionisotti has pointed out, Latin glossaries require a special treatment, different from that applied when editing literary texts: their origin remains largely unknown, and the fact that some of them apparently share certain elements is not necessarily the marker of a genealogical relation, but only an unavoidable feature of vocabularies in general.³⁴

Nonetheless, Rossana Guglielmetti has demonstrated that the reconstructive method yields good results in the editing of biblical glossaries, including both those defined as 'stemmatically manageable' (i.e. glossaries written by specific authors and witnessed either directly or indirectly by a handful of manuscripts, such as, for instance, John Scotus Eriugena's glosses) and 'unmanageable' ones (witnessed by a huge number of manuscripts with a high degree of variability). For the latter case, she has suggested applying a combination of digital tools and traditional methodology, in order to strike a balance between philological precision and the need to achieve results in a reasonably short time. She has tested this method on the Reichenau branch of the glosses in *Cantica Canticorum* derived from Adrian and Theodore's teaching in Canterbury: her *specimen* should be taken as a methodological reference point for further research.³⁵

Likewise, the transmission of the *Lg* is variable and unstable, especially when it comes to its glossographic material. Thus, it is difficult to establish the boundaries between direct and indirect tradition, to grasp the relation of the *Lg* to other glossaries, and to distinguish the ones used as sources from the ones derived from it.³⁶ Carmen Codoñer has pointed out that glossaries preserved in manuscripts dated after the oldest witnesses of the *Lg* are frequently considered epitomes or compendia stemming from it, although they may be later witnesses of *Lg* sources.³⁷ More gener-

³³ See Dionisotti 1996, pp. 218–25.

³⁴ Dionisotti 1996, pp. 221–22.

³⁵ See her forthcoming article (cf. n. 32).

³⁶ The earliest evidence for the reception of the *Lg* concerns its reuse in the compilation of derived and shortened glossaries. See n. 3.

³⁷ See Dionisotti 1996, p. 217, Codoñer 2012 and Cinato 2015b, pp. 48–55.

ally, Dionisotti has noted that smaller glossaries, often witnessed by later manuscripts, could represent an older stage of the glossographic tradition, particularly if not alphabetically arranged.³⁸ Cinato has recently listed the direct witnesses of the *Lg* (complete ones and fragments) and the glossaries derived from it (abridged and *roborati*), drawing a clear distinction between the two groups and laying the foundations for studying their genealogical relations.³⁹ Even though the transmission of the *Lg* is characterized by the same instability as pure glossaries, its earliest version continued to be copied through the centuries: the exemplars dated as late as the 15th century still preserve the original set of glosses without substantial changes.⁴⁰ Its enduring success is probably due to the authoritativeness conveyed by its exceptional length.

The identification of the sources of compilatory works like *summae* and *collectanea* is pivotal, not only in order to better understand both their genesis and the compilers' goals, but also in order to edit the text. The obstacle preventing this identification is twofold: firstly, the reworking of source texts can be so extensive as to eclipse the origin of the information; secondly, the source texts employed could nowadays be lost or still unidentified.⁴¹ Both these issues are raised by numerous glosses in the *Lg*. For instance, it is often hard to determine what biblical commentary constitutes the source text for a number of short unlabeled interpretations of biblical names occurring in the glossary. Even when the gloss is explicitly ascribed to a Church Father, the direct source might have been a biblical glossary that has either been lost or has yet to be identified.⁴² Anonymous utilitarian compilations, such as

³⁸ Dionisotti 1996, pp. 215 and 222. The *Lg* itself has been edited as an indirect witness, in order to discover ancient glossographic material hidden inside it: Goetz has published *excerpta* from entries labeled *de glosis*; Lindsay has primarily published glosses *stricto sensu* that were conveyed only by the *Lg*, whereas he has replaced encyclopedic entries with often incomplete references to the sources' editions. It is undeniable that, unlike Grondeux and Cinato's edition, Goetz and Lindsay's editions are not representative of the *Lg* in its entirety and complexity.

³⁹ See Cinato 2015 and *Liber glossarum digital*.

⁴⁰ The most ancient stage of the *Lg* text has traditionally been identified as the one represented by the oldest manuscripts, P, L and C. This claim has been confirmed by recent research on its transmission (see *supra*, n. 30).

⁴¹ See Guglielmetti 2013, pp. 26–42.

⁴² See Giani 2017, pp. 52–55.

glossaries and *centones*, have been exploited as sources by the compilers of the *Lg*: for instance, Barbero proved that they resorted to *Quod*, a *cento* combining various grammatical sources.⁴³ It is difficult to pinpoint this type of intermediate sources, consisting in purely instrumental tools with a very narrow circulation: they could be lost, or could still be lacking a critical edition. Therefore, it is important to be aware that the assessment of the *Lg* compilers' skills in combining and rewriting their sources may rather apply to the unknown intermediaries on which the *Lg* draws. Furthermore, as editors, we may be led to correct many errors in the text, ascribing them to the tradition of the *Lg*, whereas they may have already affected its source manuscripts and not have been noticed and corrected by the *Lg* compilers.

The last statement introduces a thorny issue for editors of medieval compilations: as Guglielmetti has pointed out, biblical commentaries from the Middle Ages are often studded with errors, either inherited from branches of the sources' traditions or committed by the compilers when combining them.⁴⁴ This situation is frequent not only in anonymous commentaries, but also in the ones composed by renowned authors like Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus, and Claudius of Turin. Guglielmetti explains this unexpected feature as the result of both working methods and the authors' personal involvement. As many traces in surviving manuscripts attest, compilers usually marked the selected passages in the source manuscripts with annotations, revising the manuscripts' text if necessary. The source manuscripts were then delivered to scribes in order to produce the final version of the compilation. Finally, this copy was corrected by the author. Otherwise, as an alternative method, excerpts from the sources were written down on temporary writing material, like parchment *schedulae*. These working methods could lead the scribes to make several mistakes. Equally important as a cause of textual corruptions is the relatively little attention paid by the authors to the style and formal accuracy of these texts, which were simply considered to be a means to spread knowledge, as opposed to original literary works. Gugliel-

⁴³ Barbero 1993.

⁴⁴ See Guglielmetti 2013, pp. 42–61 for the following considerations.

metti states that this feature must be taken into account by editors: during the *recensio* phase, ‘authorial’ errors may mistakenly be interpreted as clues that prove the existence of an archetype in the tradition. Moreover, as these errors may have been corrected by later scribes in some branches of the tradition, they may mistakenly be regarded as conjunctive.⁴⁵ The *emendatio* process is challenging as well: to what extent should modern editors emend the text? It is essential to evaluate the origin of each error. First of all, if it is possible to identify the source manuscript or, at least, the branch employed by the compilers, the editor can single out the errors that undoubtedly already affected the source – and that were not corrected by the compilers – from the errors made by the scribes. Secondly, errors due to an inconsistent combination of passages from different sources are ascribable to lost intermediaries, as well as to the compilers themselves. Clearly, these two types of ‘errors’ should not be corrected. Nonetheless, even after they have been sifted out, the remaining mistakes should not be corrected automatically: assuming that ‘author’s errors’ are very common, all the errors could be, *a priori*, ascribed to the compilers. It is often impossible to establish at what stage in the history of a text a corruption originated: it could have affected the source manuscript used by the compilers; it could date back to the preparatory phase; it could have originated during the copying process of the first exemplar, without having been corrected by the author; or, lastly, it could have affected the archetype. The sole instance in which the editor should be allowed to emend the text is the last

⁴⁵ Compilations were quite commonly emended by scribes who collated their manuscripts with the ones of the sources used by the authors of the compilations. Moreover, some source passages that had been excised by the compilers (and which are therefore absent in the original version) might later have been re-interpolated into the text. As Guglielmetti has pointed out (Guglielmetti 2013, pp. 52–53), scribes could paradoxically be very active and meticulous in copying these texts, improving and emending them, while, conversely, authors seem to take no interest in the formal accuracy of their works. Delmulle 2018 thoroughly discusses some cases of *contaminatio ex fontibus*, focusing in particular on the tradition of Augustinian *florilegia*. Concerning the *Lg*, the possibility of direct verification of the sources, with remarkable consequences on the text, is embodied by a specific branch of the tradition, namely the one represented by some fragments and manuscripts T and V in Grondeux’s stemma. See Mountford 1924; Grondeux 2014 and 2015b, p. 10; Giani 2017, pp. 171–207.

one. Decisions should be made on a case-by-case basis, assessing the compilers' habits and skills (*usus scribendi* criterion) and taking their working method into account.

4. *Editorial Practices and the Liber glossarum*

According to Grondeux and Cinato's edition, 30 entries in the *Lg* directly or indirectly quote Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*.⁴⁶ The task of editing and especially emending this corpus of glosses is complicated by the following factors. First of all, it has not been possible to pinpoint the branch of the tradition of the *De Genesi ad litteram* used by the compilers.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, a few errors – unattested in the direct tradition – occur identically in different glosses, without apparently being polygenetic.⁴⁸ Thus, they have probably been inherited from the source and should not be emended. Secondly, as has been said, the editor is not allowed to intervene in the text in the case of inconsistent juxtapositions of different sources and different passages of the same source, even when they cause syntactical errors.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ AN521 *Annos*, AV1 *Auaritia*, CE264 *Caelum*, CE417 *Cerebri*, DR5 *Dracones*, EX1198 *Extasis*, FI252 *Firmamentum*, FI253 *Firmamentum*, IG34 *Ignis*, LV441 *Lux*, NO348 *Nox*, NV2 *Nubes*, NV19 *Nubtae*, OC129 *Oculi*, OL54 *Olympus*, PA383 *Paradisus*, PE35 *Pecorum nomen*, PL363 *Pluuia*, RE1173 *Repentia siue Reptilia*, SA410 *Sapientia*, SA581 *Sathurnus*, SI99 *Sidera et astra et stellas et signa*, ST92 *Item de cursu et magnitudine stellarum*, ST100 *Vtrum sidera animam habeat*, TE208 *Tempora*, TE209 *Tempora*, TE289 *Tenebras*, VM11 *Vmbra*, VO164 *Vox*, VX2 *Vxores*. At least other two glosses should be added to the list: DE742 *Demonos* and PI233 *Pisces*. Furthermore, PI255 *Phison* and SP190 *Spiritus procellae* may be also be considered.

⁴⁷ See Giani 2017, pp. 303–87. An examination of the manuscripts of *De Genesi ad litteram* prior to the 10th century has not brought any conclusive proof to light. It is possible that the *Lg* compilers exploited a manuscript of the *De Genesi ad litteram* close or prior to the archetype or, alternatively, that they used more than one exemplar. It is also possible that they used a branch of the tradition that survives today only in later manuscripts that have not yet been examined.

⁴⁸ For instance, in the glosses LV441, NO348 and TE289 one can find the same ungrammatical sentence, *nam et in speluncis amplis, in quarum abdita lux inrumpere oppositam molem non sinitur, sunt itaque tenebrae*, due to the omission of <per> before *oppositam molem* (cf. Aug., *gen. ad litt.* I.12.24).

⁴⁹ The *Lg* compilers are very keen on adding transitional words that mark the shift from one source to another, but sometimes they forget to make the text syntactically consistent. For instance, gloss CE264 reads: *Vtrumque autem* (i.e. both the descriptions of the sky found in the Bible, as a vault and as a stretched skin) *ad litteram quomodo possit, uidendum est*. The meaning is clarified by looking at

Apart from these two types of mistakes, which can respectively be ascribed to the sources and to the compilers themselves, the text restored through the *recensio* and the *selectio* is dotted with a huge number of further errors, apparently due both to paleographical features of the exemplars and to a lack of attention on the part of the compilers and/or the copyists. These mistakes often make the text incomprehensible or evidently ungrammatical, as shown by the following examples:⁵⁰

NV2 (< Isid., *etym.* XIII.vii.2 + Aug., *gen. ad litt.* II.4.7) Nubes . densitas aeris nubem facit: nam *pro*⁵¹ *proxim*⁵² terris aerem conglobari saepe cernimus, cum per decliuiā iugorum ita recumbat⁵³ ut plerumque excedantur etiam cacuminibus montium. *Ergex*⁵⁴ aere, qui est uapor humidus de exaltatione⁵⁵ terrae et maris, superius nubila conglobantur.⁵⁶

AN521 (< *gen. ad litt.* II.14.29) Annos . uocamus uel isto *suscitatos*⁵⁷ solis anfractus; non cum ad orientem, quod cotidie facit, sed cum ad eandem⁵⁸ loca siderum redit, quod non facit,

the source text (Aug., *gen. ad litt.* II.9.22), where *possit* governs the verb *intellegi*, which had been excised by the compilers. See Giani 2017, pp. 235, 247 et passim.

⁵⁰ On this topic, see also Cinato 2016, pp. 111–21. The text below is the result of the *selectio* based on the majority criterion, according to Grondeux's three-branch stemma. In the footnotes I have recorded only the variants of the three main *Lg* witnesses (P, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 11529–11530, L, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat., 1773 and T, Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 850) for supposedly corrupted readings in the archetype (that can also be regarded as authorial errors), which are marked in italics. I have also recorded the *emendationes* made by Grondeux and Cinato in their edition (*ed.*) and the original source reading (*Aug.*). P¹, L¹ and T¹ stand for correctors of P, L and T. I have not recorded purely orthographic variants.

⁵¹ pro L T: per P L¹ T¹ *Aug. ed.*

⁵² proxim P L: proximi T: proximum L¹ T¹ *Aug. ed.*

⁵³ recumbat P L: recumbunt T *Aug.*: recumbant T¹.

⁵⁴ ergex P L T: ergo ex T¹ *Aug.*

⁵⁵ exaltatione L T: exalatione P T¹ *Aug. ed.*

⁵⁶ 'Clouds . are created by the density of the air. We can observe clouds being condensed in the air nearest to the earth, when they extend over the mountain sides, in such a way as to overtop the peaks. Thus, clouds are created by the air, that is to say, by humid exhalations of earth and sea'. The combination of different sources led to a logical incoherence: according to Isidore, clouds are created by the density of the air, whereas, according to Augustine, they are formed by water vapor. The *Lg*'s compilers state the equivalence between air and water vapor, in order to improve the textual consistency.

⁵⁷ isto suscitatōs P L: istos suscitatōs T: istos usitatōs *Aug.*

⁵⁸ eandem P L T: eadem L¹.

nisi peractis trecentis sexaginta quinque diebus et tribus horis, id est, quadragente⁵⁹ totius diei.⁶⁰

TE209 (< *gen. ad litt.* II.14.29) Tempora . sunt quae *pro*⁶¹ sidera fiunt: non spatia morarum, sed uicissitudines affectionum caeli *h uel*.⁶² [...] Quae pars, quater ducta, cogit interponi unum diem, quod *Romanibus sextum*⁶³ uocant, ut *deundem*⁶⁴ circuitum redeatur.⁶⁵

Furthermore, P and L, which, according to Grondeux and Cinato, are the most reliable and complete witnesses of the so-called *Parisinskasse* and *Palatinuskasse* respectively, display the same 'vulgar Latin' traits as well as the same orthographic features, as is shown by the following examples.⁶⁶ An early reader of L (named L¹) often corrects 'errors' of this kind.

VO164 (< *gen. ad litt.* I.15.29) Vox . materia *ueruorum*⁶⁷ est; *uerua*⁶⁸ uero formatam uocem indicant.⁶⁹

NO348 (< *gen. ad litt.* I.10.21 et al.) Nox . [...] Eo autem tempore, quo nox *aput*⁷⁰ nos est, eas partes mundi *presentia*⁷¹ lucis *inlustret*,⁷² per quas sol ab occasu in ortum redit, *hac*⁷³

⁵⁹ quadragente P L: quadrante P¹ L¹: quadraginte T.

⁶⁰ 'Years . We call "year" the well-known motion of the Sun across the sky: not the one it performs from the East to the West and back to the East, which takes place every day, but when it goes round to the same position in the sky every 365 days and 3 hours, that is to say, the fourth part of the day'.

⁶¹ pro P L: per L¹ T.

⁶² h uel P T: uel L *ed.*: *del.* L¹: huius *Aug.*

⁶³ romanibus sextum P L T: romani bissextum L¹ *Aug. ed.*

⁶⁴ deundem L: de eundem P: eundem T: ad eundem L¹ *Aug.*

⁶⁵ 'Seasons . are caused by celestial bodies: they are not simply time intervals, but consequences of the motion of the stars in the sky. [...] It is this part, multiplied by four, that forces us to add a whole day every leap year, in order to keep the calendar straight. The Romans call it: *bissextum*.'

⁶⁶ I mark these in italics. Otherwise, I follow the same criteria outlined above (see n. 50).

⁶⁷ ueruorum P L: uerborum L¹ T.

⁶⁸ uerua P L: uerba L¹ T.

⁶⁹ 'Voice . is the basic material for words; vice versa, words are what a voice is shaped into'.

⁷⁰ apud P L: apud T.

⁷¹ presentia P L: p(rae)sentia T.

⁷² *Inlustret* was hypercorrected into *inlustrat* by L¹.

⁷³ hac P L: ac L¹ T.

pro⁷⁴ hoc omnibus uiginti quattuor oris⁷⁵ non deesse per circuitum giri⁷⁶ totius alibi diem alibi noctem. Australis enim pars cum abet⁷⁷ solem, nobis dies est; quum⁷⁸ autem partem Aquilonis circuiens perueitur,⁷⁹ nobis nox est.⁸⁰

ST92 (< *gen. ad litt.* II.16.33 et al.) Item de cursu adque⁸¹ magnitudine stellarum . [...] Queri⁸² autem solet, ut ait beatissimus Augustinus, utrum caeli luminaria sta⁸³ conspicua, id est sol, luna et stellas,⁸⁴ aequaliter fulgeant.⁸⁵

OC130 (< *gen. ad litt.* I.16.31 et al.) Oculi . [...] Radium autem iactus ex oculis nostris cuiusdam quidam⁸⁶ lucis est iactus; et contrahi potest, cum aerem, qui est proximus oculis nostris, intuemur, et emitti, cum ad eandem rectitudinem, quae sunt longe posita adtendimus:⁸⁷ nec sane cum contrahitur, omnino cernere quae longe sunt desinit; sed certe obscurius quam quam⁸⁸ in eam⁸⁹ obtutas⁹⁰ emittitur.⁹¹

⁷⁴ pro P T: per L T¹ *Aug.* This variant reading is not related to the graphic or phonetic features of P and L, but rather to a misreading of the abbreviation used in the archetype (or in the original).

⁷⁵ oris P L: horis L¹ T.

⁷⁶ giri P L T. It has not been corrected by T and L¹.

⁷⁷ abet P: ab hec L: habet L¹ T.

⁷⁸ quum L: quam P: cum L¹ T.

⁷⁹ perueitur P: prouehitur L: prouehitur L¹: peruehitur T *Aug.*

⁸⁰ 'Night . When it is night with us, the Sun sheds light on the lands it is crossing on its way back from the West to the East, so that, due to its circular movement, it is always daytime somewhere and night time somewhere else. So, when the southern part of the sky has the Sun, it is daytime for us, but when in its circuit it reaches the northern part, it is night time for us'.

⁸¹ adque P L T. It has not been corrected by T and L¹.

⁸² queri P L: quaeri T.

⁸³ sta P T: ista L. It has been corrected by L.

⁸⁴ stellas L T: stellis P: stellae *Aug.* It has not been corrected by T and L¹.

⁸⁵ 'Again about the movement and size of the stars. [...] We are used to asking, according to Augustine, if these celestial bodies, namely the Sun, the Moon and the stars, are equally bright'.

⁸⁶ quidam P T: quedam L: quidem *Aug.* See above, n. 74.

⁸⁷ adtendimus P: adtendamus L: adtendimus T *Aug.* See also above, n. 74.

⁸⁸ quam L T: quum P: cum L¹ *Aug.*

⁸⁹ eam P L T: ea *Aug.* It has not been corrected by T and L¹.

⁹⁰ obtutas P T: obtutus L T¹ *Aug.*

⁹¹ 'Eyes . rays of light are emitted from our eyes. These rays are reduced when we look towards the air close to us and extended when we look towards distant things. When they are reduced, we do not cease to see distant things, but they seem blurrier than when we look straight towards them'.

It is very hard to determine whether the 'paleographical' errors, orthographic deviations, and 'vulgar' linguistic features should be attributed to the sources, to the compilers of the *Lg* or to its tradition (therefore, it is hard to state whether they must be corrected by the editors or not), for the following reasons:

- 1) Before intervening in the text, one should verify whether surviving witnesses stem from an archetype or directly from the original (the 'prototype'). As the *Lg* text is nearly entirely derivative, it is impossible to come to a definitive conclusion. Nevertheless, two facts are noteworthy. First, there are several errors affecting the work's macro-structure: three misplacements of glosses (inversion of the alphabetical arrangements in letters B, C, and M) apparently due to binding mistakes; a probable lacuna between PE1149 *Pertinet* and PE1150 *Perturbatio*; and several glosses lacking lemmata or interpretations.⁹² Second, as Cinato has recently illustrated in a paper entirely devoted to the textual and paratextual features of the oldest *Lg* witnesses, its textual history seems to be older than the manuscript from which all the extant ones derive. He argues that the *Lg* text had already been revised (by someone who introduced a number of technical signs in the margins, such as the R standing for *require*) and occasionally collated with other manuscripts before the oldest extant copies were written. Furthermore, he draws attention to some clues supporting the hypothesis that those technical signs and variant readings were not added in the margins of the archetype, but were copied in it from its antigraph: thus, according to him, the archetype cannot be the first copy ever made of this work.⁹³
- 2) My personal perspective on the matter may be deceptive: before making any editorial choice, it is important to compare the glosses drawn from the *De Genesi ad litteram* with other entries, in order to understand if they are affected by the same

⁹² See Goetz 1981, pp. 32–34, Bishop 1978, p. 85 and Cinato 2016, pp. 70, 72–75. The cases of glosses lacking lemmata and interpretations raise another issue: the *Lg* may be an unfinished work. A clue supporting this theory is the absence of a title, a prologue or any introduction to the text, and it is noteworthy that the scribe of P, which is the most conservative amongst the oldest copies, left 15 empty lines at the beginning of the text, before the first gloss.

⁹³ Cinato 2016, pp. 70, 83–111 and 121.

corruptions, in terms of both quantity and quality. In the case of a negative answer, the corruptions should be attributable to the source employed by the compilers and, therefore, should not be corrected. On the contrary, in the case of an affirmative answer, the origin of the corruptions remains dubious, as they may be due either to the tradition of the sources, or to that of the *Lg*, or to the compilers.⁹⁴ The sole detailed linguistic study available at the moment is Silvia Gorla's unpublished PhD thesis, which was defended at the University of Udine in 2016 and focuses on the edition of the glosses labeled *Virgili* and starting with the letter A. With regard to phonetic, morphological and syntactical elements, both the Augustinian and Virgilian glosses apparently show certain 'vulgar' Latin features, but not exactly the same ones.⁹⁵ Moreover, as far as 'paleographical' mistakes are concerned, it can be said that the glosses drawn from Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* apparently derive from an ancestor written in a pre-Caroline script and in part show the same errors affecting glosses drawn from other sources, according to Cinato's broad survey.⁹⁶

- 3) The logical and linguistic coherence varies significantly from gloss to gloss. Some of the glosses are very refined: the syntax

⁹⁴ For a similar case study, regarding Gregory of Tours' *Historiae*, see Orlandi 1996, who compares the linguistic features of 'authorial' sections in the manuscripts with the ones derived from previous sources, demonstrating that the linguistic level does not vary and, therefore, that this criterion is not useful to prove that Gregory's linguistic proficiency in Latin was low.

⁹⁵ Gorla 2016, pp. 323–33. I am very grateful to Silvia Gorla for showing me the results of her work prior to its publication. See also Barbero 2016, pp. 322–23. It might be interesting to compare the linguistic features of P with the ones witnessed by other manuscripts produced in the same *scriptorium*, such as the *legendarium* Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, D. V.3, which has been analyzed from a linguistic point of view by Goullet 2014.

⁹⁶ See Giani 2017, pp. 291–98 and Cinato 2016, pp. 66, 75, 83, 111–21, who leans towards the hypothesis of a Visigothic archetype, presenting a broad array of examples. Further research on 'paleographic' mistakes in the *Lg* is to be found in: Carracedo Fraga 2013, p. 443, who states that the error *confecta* for *non recta* in the gloss SO88 (from Isidore's *Etymologiae*) is typical of insular and Corbie *ab*-script. Mountford 1925, p. 9 and Barbero 1990, pp. 151–52 point out that some glosses seem to show signs of derivation from an ancestor written in Corbie *ab*-script. The gloss PR2651 *Propius res aspiciensas* (i.e. Verg., Aen. I, 526 *aspice nostras*) uses the abbreviation of *nostras* in *nsas*, that is typical of the Visigothic script (Lindsay 1915, p. 385 and *Glossarium Ansileubi*, p. 468).

of the sources employed has been changed in order to adapt the text to the new context and to make it fit into a work that belongs to a different genre. Other entries appear to have been edited very roughly, and sometimes the original meaning of the source has been obscured by the compilers' arrangement.⁹⁷

The last feature is conceivably due to the working method adopted in the workshop where the *Lg* was composed. Its compilation must have required a large amount of time, money and human resources. Editing tasks must have been assigned to different collaborators with different levels of education and linguistic skills. The large number of individuals involved in editing and reworking the sources is a key point in order to understand the nature of this text and develop an editing strategy which takes the complexity of its genesis into account. Owing to all these features, the *usus scribendi* criterion is applicable neither to the *recensio* nor to the *constitutio textus*, at least until a specific study identifies the individual compilers at work on the basis of their editing habits.

Furthermore, as the composition of the *Lg* may have taken many years, and as there is no complete agreement among scholars about the place and date of its completion, it is not possible to resort to external evidence in assessing the compilers' linguistic skills, nor is it possible to separate their linguistic systems from the ones of the copyists.

Reconstructive editions normally aim to restore the author's intentions. But what exactly does this mean in our case? The text actually edited by some of the compilers was probably different from the one conceived by the project creator, who was, supposedly, a cultivated man. Furthermore, if all surviving witnesses stem from a lost archetype, as recent scholarship claims, we do not have the possibility of assessing how much it differed from the original.

Leaving these theoretical questions unanswered, I would like to conclude with a review of the practical solutions adopted by the editors who recently dealt with this text. Grondeux and Cinato chose a moderate reconstructive method. Their edition, the *principes* for this glossary in its entirety, is based on the *codex optimus* L,

⁹⁷ For the first type, see SA410 *Sapientia*; for the second one, see *supra*, n. 49.

whose text has been systematically corrected using two other old witnesses, P and A (Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 36 inf., written in Northern Italy between 826 and 850, and belonging to the *Palatinusklasse*), and occasionally other ones: the *constitutio textus* is simplified, in order to produce the best and swiftest possible results.⁹⁸

Indeed, the size of the *Lg* is a serious obstacle that has long prevented scholars from preparing a proper critical edition. Undoubtedly, its length has a great impact on any practical solutions: the editors are forced to strike a compromise between philological precision and practical feasibility. First of all, teamwork is required and implies unavoidable discrepancies in the finished product, but it is nonetheless the only approach that ensures the achievement of fair results in a reasonably short time. Secondly, editors have been forced to select only two or three manuscripts among the oldest as the basis for their editions, and to consult the remaining ones only in the case of dubious or unsatisfactory readings.

An online edition, like that of Grondeux and Cinato, is particularly suitable for this work, since it gives access to provisional results which can be corrected as the research proceeds.⁹⁹ Moreover, it enables the reader to visualize both levels of this text: the earliest stage of its tradition that can be reconstructed with a reasonable degree of certainty, and a normalized textual form. The former is dotted with many errors, probably attributable both

⁹⁸ Grondeux and Cinato worked on the text as though the stemma were bipartite. The witnesses are divided into two classes: the first one is represented by P and C (the latter only partially collated), the second one by L and A. Here I report the few lines from the website of the edition (*Liber glossarum digital*) devoted to editing criteria. 'Accord LA P(C) sur une forme fautive: leur leçon est retenue, une note restitue la forme attendue': the editors do not clarify the meaning of 'forme fautive' and 'forme attendue'; anyway, it is clear that they avoided emending the text in case of agreement of all the witnesses and that they decided to reproduce the readings they expected to find in a note. 'Accord LA contre P(C): la forme retenue est en général la forme attendue, après contrôle d'autres témoins, en particulier pour les sections manquantes de C'. In the case of divergences between the two branches, they chose the 'expected' form, again without precisely specifying what that means. 'Accord A P(C) contre L: la forme retenue est celle des mss A P(C). Accord LA (C) contre P: la forme retenue est celle des mss LA (C), après contrôle de témoins de la famille ϕ '. It seems that the editorial criteria have not yet been fully explained.

⁹⁹ In her forthcoming article Guglielmetti suggests a similar solution for the publication of the Reichenau glossary.

to the compilers and to the tradition, without any possibility of distinguishing between the two. The remarkable source apparatus of Grondeux-Cinato's edition also functions as a normalized reference text: each source passage is transcribed *in extenso* below the corresponding gloss, thus allowing the reader to contextualize the excerpt and grasp not only its meaning, but also the overall nature of the glossary: the *Lg* was an ambitious project, pursuing the goals of perspicuity and lucidity, even though at first glance it might seem a hermetic or mediocre work. In the case of a printed edition, a good solution to the problem of representing both levels in a graphically clear and economic way is offered by David Paniagua in his edition of gloss PI233 *Pisces*.¹⁰⁰ Paniagua uses italics to mark single letters or groups of letters that have been corrected, square brackets for expunctions and angle brackets for additions. In this way, readers can visualize the two levels of the text juxtaposed in a single page, without the need to constantly move their eyes in order to compare the two.

In conclusion, I shall now return to my opening quote from Lindsay. Feeling bored and poor was a side effect of having spent so much time and money on the *Lg* edition, but such a monument of medieval scholarship certainly deserves both detailed studies and an overall assessment: efforts that are only recently being devoted to it. The debate on the best approach towards editing the *Lg* has been enriched by Grondeux and Cinato's contribution, which has authoritatively established its text. Yet, some additional reflections may still be made using a granular approach. Indeed, editing a portion of this text gives one a slightly different point of view: owing to the smaller number of glosses taken into account, the editor has the possibility of studying their sources in greater depth and of being more specific in some details. On the other hand, a partial edition has the disadvantage of both providing and being based on a limited and therefore biased point of view on the topic. Thus, its results should be put into perspective in order to actually increase our knowledge of this fascinating encyclopedic glossary.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ See Paniagua 2016, pp. 57–58.

¹⁰¹ This is the goal of both Gorla's PhD thesis and mine, which have been carried out in parallel to Grondeux and Cinato's edition of the entire work.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Glosae in regula Sancti Benedicti abbatis ad usum Smaragdi Sancti Michaelis abbatis*, ed. M. van der Meer, Turnhout: Brepols, 2017 (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 282).
- Glossarium Ansileubi*, ed. W.-M. Lindsay, J. F. Mountford & J. Whatmough, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1926 (Glossaria Latina, 1).
- Liber glossarum digital*, ed. A. Grondeux & F. Cinato, Paris, 2016 (URL: <http://liber-glossarum.huma-num.fr>).
- Placidus, Festus*, ed. J. W. Pirie & W.-M. Lindsay, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1930 (Glossaria Latina, 4).
- Placidus, Liber glossarum. Glossaria reliqua*, ed. G. Goetz, Lipsiae: Teubner, 1894 (Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum, 5).

Secondary Literature

- A. Adler (1931), 'Suidas (Lexicograph)', in W. Kroll & K. Mittelhaus (eds), *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Neue bearbeitung begonnen von G. Wissowa, Zweite Reihe siebter Halbband. *Stoa bis Symposion*, Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, cols 675–717.
- G. Barbero (1987), 'Il *Liber Glossarum*: fonti e struttura' (unpublished master's degree thesis, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano, 1987) (URL: https://www.academia.edu/26053280/Il_Liber_glossarum_fonti_e_struttura_Tesi_di_laurea_Universit%C3%A0_Cattolica_del_Sacro_Cuore_A._A._1986-1987).
- G. Barbero (1990), 'Contributi allo studio del *Liber Glossarum*', in *Aevum*, 64, pp. 151–74.
- G. Barbero (1993), 'Per lo studio delle fonti del *Liber Glossarum*: il ms. Amploniano F 10', in *Aevum*, 67, pp. 253–78.
- G. Barbero (2016), 'Credo sit Papias integer: la ricezione del *Liber glossarum* in Italia presso gli Umanisti', in *Dossiers d'HEL, SHESL, Le Liber glossarum (s. VII–VIII): composition, sources, réception*, pp. 321–56 (URL: <http://htl.linguist.univ-paris-diderot.fr/hel/dossiers/numero10>). <hal-01473157>.
- B. Bischoff (1961), 'Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Sevilla', in M. C. Díaz y Díaz (ed.), *Isidoriana: Colección de estudios sobre Isidoro de Sevilla*, León: Centro de Estudios San Isidoro, pp. 317–44 (repr. in B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3 vols, Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1966, I, pp. 171–94).

- B. Bischoff (1972), 'Die Bibliothek im Dienste der Schule', in *La scuola nell'occidente latino. Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo*, XIX, Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, pp. 385–415 (repr. in B. Bischoff (1981), *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3 vols, Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1981, III, pp. 213–33).
- B. Bischoff (1989), *Die Abtei Lorsch im Spiegel ihrer Handschriften*, Lorsch: Verlag Laurissa.
- B. Bischoff (2014), *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, III, Padua-Zwickau, aus dem Nachlass hrsg. von B. Ebersperger, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- T. A. Bishop (1978), 'The Prototype of the *Liber Glossarum*', in M. B. Parkes & A. G. Watson (eds), *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries. Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, London: Scholar Press, pp. 69–86.
- V. von Büren (2002), 'Écrites au 9e, perdues au 20e, retrouvées au 15e: à propos des gloses de Végèce *De re militari*', in V. Fera, G. Ferraù & S. Rizzo (eds), *Talking to the Text: Marginalia from Papyri to Print. Proceedings of a Conference Held at Erice, 26 September-3 October 1998, as the 12th Course of International School for the Study of Written Records*, Messina: Centro interdepartimentale di studi umanistici, pp. 267–87.
- V. von Büren (2007), 'La place du manuscrit Ambr. L 99 sup. dans la transmission des Étymologies d'Isidore de Séville', in M. Ferrari & M. Navoni (eds), *Nuove ricerche su codici in scrittura latina dell'Ambrosiana. Atti del Convegno. Milano, 6–7 Ottobre 2005*, Milano: Vita e Pensiero, pp. 25–44.
- V. von Büren (2012), 'Les *Étymologies* de Paul Diacre? Le manuscrit Cava de' Tirreni 2 (XXIII) et le *Liber Glossarum*', in *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 53, pp. 1–36.
- V. von Büren (2015), 'L'*Appendix Probi* et l'origine du *Liber Glossarum*', in *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 56, pp. 1–14.
- P. Chiesa (2015), '*Itinerarium Egeriae*' in E. Colombi, C. Mordegia & M. M. Romano (eds), *Traditio Patrum*, I, *Scriptores Hispaniae*, Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 259–73.
- F. Cinato (2015a), 'Prologomène à un Catalogue des manuscrits du *Liber glossarum*. I. Fragments, tradition directe et indirecte', in *Dossiers d'HEL, SHESL, L'activité lexicographique dans le haut Moyen Age latin. Rencontre autour du Liber Glossarum*, pp. 13–35 (URL: <<http://dossierhel.hypotheses.org/>>. <halshs-01174620>).
- F. Cinato (2015b), 'Le Goth Ansileubus, les *Glossae Salomonis* et les glossaires wisigothiques. Mise au point sur les attributions et les

- sources glossographiques du *Liber glossarum*, in *Dossiers d'HEL, SHESL, L'activité lexicographique dans le haut Moyen Âge latin. Rencontre autour du Liber Glossarum*, pp. 37–56 (URL: <<http://dossierhel.hypotheses.org/>>. <halshs-01174628>).
- F. Cinato (2016), 'Que nous apprennent les écritures des plus anciens témoins du *Liber Glossarum* sur l'archétype?', in *Dossiers d'HEL, SHESL, Le Liber glossarum (s. VII–VIII): composition, sources, réception*, pp. 59–124 (URL: <<http://htl.linguist.univ-paris-diderot.fr/hel/dossiers/numero10>>. <hal-01421393v2>).
- C. Codoñer (2012), 'Los glosarios hispánicos y su posible relación con el *Liber Glossarum*', in P. F. Alberto & D. Paniagua (eds), *Ways of Approaching Knowledge in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Schools and Scholarship*, Nordhausen: Verlag Traugott Bautz, pp. 11–39.
- C. Conduché (2016), 'Présence de Julien de Tolède dans le *Liber glossarum*', in *Dossiers d'HEL, SHESL, Le Liber glossarum (s. VII–VIII): composition, sources, réception*, pp. 141–57 (URL: <<http://htl.linguist.univ-paris-diderot.fr/hel/dossiers/numero10>>. <hal-01420014v2>).
- V. De Angelis (1984), '*Ansileubi glossarium*', in F. Della Corte (ed.), *Enciclopedia virgiliana*, 5 vols, Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia, I, pp. 188–90.
- V. De Angelis (1997), 'La redazione preparatoria dell'*Elementarium*', in *Filologia Mediolatina*, 4, pp. 251–90.
- J. Delmulle (2018), 'La *Contaminatio ex fontibus* dans la transmission des florilèges. Réflexions à partir du cas d'étude des florilèges augustiniens', in *Filologia Mediolatina*, 25, pp. 1–43.
- A. C. Dionisotti (1996), 'On the Nature and Transmission of Latin Glossaries', in J. Hamesse (ed.), *Les manuscrits des lexiques et glossaires de l'Antiquité tardive à la fin du Moyen Âge. Actes du Colloque international organisé par le 'Ettore Majorana Centre for Scientific Culture' (Erice, 22–30 septembre 1994)*, Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des instituts d'études médiévales, pp. 205–52.
- D. Ganz (1990), *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke.
- D. Ganz (1993), 'The *Liber Glossarum*: a Carolingian Encyclopedia', in D. Lohrmann & P. L. Butzer (eds), *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian times*, Basel, Boston, Berlin: Birkhauser, pp. 127–38.
- D. Ganz & M. Gouillet (2014), 'Le Légendier de Turin et l'écriture ab', in M. Gouillet (ed.), *Le Légendier de Turin. Ms. D.V.3 de la Bibliothèque Nationale Universitaire*, Firenze: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, pp. 75–91.

- P. Gatti (2004), '*Liber Glossarum*', in P. Chiesa & L. Castaldi (eds), *La trasmissione dei testi latini del medioevo. Mediaeval Latin Texts and their Transmission*, Firenze: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, pp. 264–67.
- P. Gatti (2010), 'Per una nuova costituzione del testo del *Liber glossarum*', in *Voces*, 21, pp. 145–54.
- M. Giani (2016), 'Agostino fonte del *Liber Glossarum*. Alcuni casi di studio', in *Dossiers d'HEL, SHESL, Le Liber glossarum (s. VII–VIII): composition, sources, réception*, pp. 227–40 (URL: <<http://htl.linguist.univ-paris-diderot.fr/hel/dossiers/numero10>>. <hal-01420116>).
- M. Giani (2017), 'Le opere di Agostino di Ippona e il *Liber Glossarum*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, SISMEL Firenze).
- G. Goetz (1891), *Der Liber glossarum*, Leipzig: Hirzel (repr. in *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königlich-Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 13 (1893), pp. 212–88).
- G. Goetz (1923), *De glossariorum latinorum origine et fatis*, Leipzig-Berlin: Teubner (Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum, 1).
- S. Gorla (2016), 'Glosse virgiliane nel *Liber glossarum*. Saggio di edizione critica delle voci *Virgili* (lettera A)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Università degli Studi di Udine).
- A. Grondeux (2009), '*Liber glossarum*', in H. Stammerjohann (ed.), *Lexicon Grammaticorum. A Bio-bibliographical Companion to the History of Linguistics*, 2 vols, L-Z, Tübingen: Niemeyer, II, cols 905–06.
- A. Grondeux (2011), 'Le *Liber Glossarum* (VIII^e siècle). Prolégomènes à une nouvelle édition', in *Archivum Latinitatis Medi Aevii*, 69, pp. 23–51.
- A. Grondeux (2013), 'L'entrée *uox* du *Liber glossarum*. Les sources et leur mise en œuvre', in A. Zucker (ed.), *Encyclopédire. Formes de l'ambition encyclopédique de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge*, Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 259–74.
- A. Grondeux & F. Cinato (2014), 'Introduction', in *Histoire, Épistémologie, Langage*, 36, pp. 9–12.
- A. Grondeux (2015a), 'Note sur la présence de l'*Hypomnesticon* pseudo-augustinien dans le *Liber glossarum*', in *Dossiers d'HEL, SHESL, L'activité lexicographique dans le haut Moyen Âge latin. Rencontre autour du Liber Glossarum*, pp. 59–78 (URL: <<http://dossierhel.hypotheses.org/>>. <halshs-01174635>).
- A. Grondeux (2015b), 'Stemma provisoire de la tradition manuscrite du *Liber glossarum*', in *Dossiers d'HEL, SHESL, L'activité lexicographique dans le haut Moyen Âge latin. Rencontre autour du*

- Liber Glossarum, pp. 5–10 (URL: <<http://dossierhel.hypotheses.org/>>. <halshs-01174611>).
- A. Grondeux (2015c), ‘Le traitement des *autorités* dans le *Liber glossarum* (s. VIII)’, in *Eruditio Antiqua*, 7, pp. 71–95.
- A. Grondeux (2016), ‘Introduction’, in *Dossiers d’HEL, SHESL, Le Liber glossarum (s. VII–VIII): composition, sources, réception*, pp. 3–8 (URL: <<http://htl.linguist.univ-paris-diderot.fr/hel/dossiers/numero10>>. <hal-01419929>).
- R. E. Guglielmetti (2013), ‘L’editore di esegesi altomedievale tra fonti sommerse e tradizioni creative’, in *Filologia Mediolatina*, 20, pp. 25–68.
- A. Häse (2002), *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse aus Kloster Lorsch. Einleitung, Edition und Kommentar*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- L. Holtz (2016), ‘Conclusions du colloque’, in *Dossiers d’HEL, SHESL, Le Liber glossarum (s. VII–VIII): composition, sources, réception*, pp. 339–41 (URL: <<http://htl.linguist.univ-paris-diderot.fr/hel/dossiers/numero10>>. <hal-01430796v2>).
- M. Huglo (2001), ‘Les arts libéraux dans le *Liber glossarum*’, in *Scriptorium*, 55, pp. 3–33.
- W. M. Lindsay (1915), *Notae latinae. An Account of Abbreviation in Latin Mss. of the Early Minuscle Period (c. 700–850)*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- W. M. Lindsay (1917), ‘The *Abstrvsa Glossary* and the *Liber Glossarum*’, in *The Classical Quarterly*, 11, pp. 119–31.
- W. M. Lindsay (1937), ‘Virgil Scholia in the *Ansileubus Glossary*’, in *The American Journal of Philology*, 58, pp. 1–6.
- J. C. Martín-Iglesias (2018), ‘El tratado *De haeresibus* (CPL 1201) atribuido a Isidoro de Sevilla: notas en favor de una autoría discutida y primera edición completa del texto’, in *Filologia Mediolatina*, 25, pp. 139–74.
- R. McKitterick (2012), ‘Glossaries and Other Innovations in Carolingian Book Production’, in E. Kwakkel, R. McKitterick & R. Malcolm Thomson (eds), *Turning Over a New Leaf. Change and Development in the Medieval Book*, Leiden: Leiden University Press, pp. 21–78.
- M. van der Meer (2016), ‘The *Glosae in regula S. Benedicti* – a text between the *Liber Glossarum* and Smaragdus’ *Expositio in regulam S. Benedicti*’, in *Dossiers d’HEL, SHESL, Le Liber glossarum (s. VII–VIII): composition, sources, réception*, pp. 305–19 (URL: <<http://htl.linguist.univ-paris-diderot.fr/hel/dossiers/numero10>>. <hal-01419982v2>).

- J. F. Mountford (1924), 'The Tours and Vendôme Mss. of the *Liber Glossarum*', in *Archivum Latinitatis Medi Aevii*, 1, pp. 186–92.
- J. F. Mountford (1925), *Quotations from Classical Authors in Latin Medieval Glossaries*, New York, London: Longmans.
- G. Orlandi (1996), 'Un dilemma editoriale: ortografia e morfologia nelle *Historiae* di Gregorio di Tours', in *Filologia Mediolatina*, 3, pp. 35–71 (repr. in G. Orlandi (2008), *Scritti di filologia mediolatina*, Firenze: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, pp. 751–82).
- D. Paniagua (2016), '*Pisces* (PI 233): estudio de la técnica de composición de una glosa enciclopédica del *Liber Glossarum*', in *Dossiers d'HEL, SHESL, Le Liber glossarum (s. VII–VIII): composition, sources, réception*, pp. 29–58 (URL: <<http://htl.linguist.univ-paris-diderot.fr/hel/dossiers/numero10>>. <hal-01419959>).
- L. Pirovano (2016), 'Il *De Haeresibus* attribuito a Isidoro e il *Liber glossarum*: alcune considerazioni', in *Dossiers d'HEL, SHESL, Le Liber glossarum (s. VII–VIII): composition, sources, réception*, pp. 199–207 (URL: <<http://htl.linguist.univ-paris-diderot.fr/hel/dossiers/numero10>>. <hal-01420106>).
- G. Vignodelli (2017), 'La tradizione scoliastica a Persio e Giovenale nel Polittico di Attone di Vercelli e nelle sue glosse (953–58)', in G. M. Masselli & F. Sivo (eds), *Il ruolo della Scuola nella tradizione dei classici latini. Tra Fortleben ed esegesi. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Foggia, 26–28 ottobre 2016)*, Foggia: Il castello, pp. 377–428.
- G. Vignodelli (2018), 'The Making of a Tenth-Century Self-Commentary: The Glosses to Atto of Vercelli's *Perpendiculum* and Their Sources', in M. Teeuwen & I. van Renswoude, *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages: Practices of Reading and Writing*, Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 157–96.

Abstract

Medieval glossaries and commentaries raise peculiar philological issues, related to their origin, transmission and textual features, that partly overlap with the ones presented by the *Liber glossarum*. This paper discusses specific challenges tackled by the author in the attempt to produce a critical edition of a small portion of this vast encyclopedic glossary, namely the entries drawn from Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*. The attention is focused mostly on the *emendatio* phase.

FAUSTO MONTANA

University of Pavia

EDITING ANONYMOUS VOICES: THE *SCHOLIA VETERA* TO THE *ILLIAD*

1. *Preliminary Remarks*

Rarely in the memory of historical time can cultural reference points be identified that are so ancient and long-lived as to have endured throughout the millennia, giving the impression of having coexisted with entire civilisations. In the history of the West, this is the case of the poetry of Homer. The Homeric poems, performed in various ways on celebratory occasions and in socio-cultural and performative contexts of Archaic and Classical Greece (8th-4th centuries BC), assumed over time the fundamental role of forging a Pan-Hellenic identity. It is quite plausible that the contexts in which the poems were performed and the active involvement of the professional performers (rhapsodes) led to the development of the first forms of explanation; with the result that the artistic performance became associated with another type of performance, of an interpretive nature. Subsequently, with the increasing distance and differentiation between these epic works (with their associated reference world) and the worlds of the audiences, the need for language and content-related explanations grew in equal measure.

This problem was aggravated by a further difficulty. Even if one disregards the question of the genesis of the poems, the mere fact that they were communicated orally over the course of centuries, in many different places and by a great quantity of performers led to the multiplication of different versions of the 'text'. At a certain point, and in a decisive and systematic manner in the Egypt of the Hellenistic age (3rd-1st centuries BC), this fluidity was felt to be

a problem and the ancient practice of text explanation assumed the characteristics of professional philology. The ambitious aim which thus gradually took shape, for the works of Homer as also for those of other poets and authors, was to restore univocal texts and thus to recover the authenticity of the works. The enormous critical-textual and exegetical effort that was thus set in motion by the philologists of the Hellenistic era continued to produce effects throughout the Graeco-Roman era, and ultimately left notable traces – selected, metabolized and reblended with new hermeneutic products – in the book culture of the Byzantine world. Together with other material, the scholia preserved in the medieval manuscripts constitute what is today the main accessible outcome of this prolonged story of utilization, reception and explanation of the poems.¹

This brief sketch of the protracted history of the Homeric text and its associated interpretation is intended to serve as a premise for asserting that the impact of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in Western civilizations is matched by a very extensive exegetical tradition which can lay claim to considerable historical-cultural relevance in its own right. This highlights the importance and complexity involved in the task of surveying, studying, and editing this age-old tradition. If this is the frame, we must recognize that contemporary philology has made a substantial contribution to producing good ‘answers’ to the historiographical and editorial problem. One of these ‘answers’ and the underlying methodological questions form the object of this contribution.

The important edition of the *scholia uetera* to the *Iliad* published between 1969 and 1988 by Hartmut Erbse unquestionably provided us with a tool that is excellent from at least two general points of view: the quality of the text constitution, including the rich critical and source apparatuses; and the historical reconstruction of the traditional classes of the *Iliad* scholia as well as the textual arrangement and layout consequently adopted in the edition. There cannot be any doubt that Erbse achieved a fundamental step forward in the study and editing of these materials; on the other hand, as is understandable, he did not include the entire

¹ The reference work for the history of the Greek scholarship from antiquity to Byzantium is now Matthaios, Montanari & Rengakos 2015.

range of materials he had at hand. This is one of the reasons why an Italian team, led by Franco Montanari and including Davide Muratore, Lara Pagani and myself, and currently also benefiting from the collaboration of Francesco Plebani, have been working for some time on a project of a new critical edition of the scholia.

Therefore, it is worth showing why a new edition is desirable, how it could be drawn up, and on what methodological bases it should be established. The theme and the viewpoint adopted in the present volume point to the need to place emphasis on questions of method and on the possible solutions, rather than on the details of the individual problematic features (which in some cases are also highly complex).² Thus, the following pages will focus progressively on three issues, from the general to the particular: firstly, the main features of scholiography to ancient Greek literature and their impact on textual criticism from the methodological point of view (§ 2); secondly, the choices made by Erbse in his edition of the Homeric scholia (§ 3); and finally, the advisable and expected changes and improvements with respect to Erbse's edition (§ 4).

2. *Defining Scholiography to Ancient Greek Literature*

2.1. Exegesis on Literature and on Other Branches of Learning

The transmission of ancient exegesis apparently underwent a noticeably different developmental path in the field of literature as compared to other branches of learning. The form of the commentary in strongly professionalized and specialist spheres, such as science, medicine, law, philosophy, the Scriptures, took on the standard character of theoretical, critical and also self-referential reflection by subjects who were personally involved in the respective professions. The authoritative status of texts used in professional fields embodying a high degree of specialized terminology and concepts seems to be at the origin of the continuity of demand and of the consequent tradition, which led to more substantial conservation of forms and devices of the associated exegetical and unceasingly speculative equipment. The latter predominantly and preferentially maintained the format of a separate commentary,

² Consequently, the relevant bibliography will be quoted very selectively.

without interruption from Late Antiquity to the advanced Middle Ages. This statement can also be extended to cases where the commentary takes on the external aspect of a marginal commentary, as, for instance, in the case of the mathematical explanations by Eutocius of Ascalon transmitted in the margins of the manuscripts of Apollonius of Perga's *Conics*. This continuity offers an eloquent testimony of the way the genre or the field of learning to which a work belonged could exert an influence on its reception, its form and the preservation of the associated exegetical tradition.³

In contrast, scholiastic *corpora* to Greek literary works gradually took shape between Late Antiquity and the medieval period and can be regarded as a development of the standard or *routine* set of tools utilized in the context of medium and advanced level training in the Roman and Byzantine Empires. This phenomenon led to the almost completely generalized transition from the traditional commentaries, composed by recognizable authors and transmitted under their names, originally separate from the texts being commented on, to apparatuses of exegetical excerpts compiled from a variety of different sources and usually placed at the side of the literary texts concerned.⁴ It is worth recalling the overall characteristics of these compilatory and miscellaneous materials and pointing out the related implications for the purposes of textual constitution.

2.2. Easy Availability and Relative Exhaustiveness of the Explanation

Scholiography to literary texts could be defined as an editorial response to a specific cultural demand, namely, how to supply the reader of a literary text with an 'information pack' of explanatory material that would be rapidly and easily available and exhaustive according to a particular perspective. The easy availability of the exegetical information was achieved by arranging the commentary

³ Cf. Montana 2011, pp. 114–15, 131–34; Montana 2014b, pp. 26–28.

⁴ An extensive critical debate has arisen concerning the time and manner in which this transformation took place: overviews in Montana 2011 and 2014a. One very important aspect of the problem is the relationship between Greek literary scholiography and the Greek Biblical *catenae*: Zuntz 1975; cf. Montana 2011, pp. 118–22, 127–28.

in a different form. No longer did it constitute a separate bookroll, distinct from the copy of the text being commented on, as had been the practice with the *hypomnemata* ever since the Hellenistic age; rather, in an era when the codex was the usual book form, the commentary was drawn up in the margins of the page, set alongside or framing the commented text. The relative exhaustiveness of the information was achieved by scrutinizing and excerpting the available or selected exegetical heritage (ancient *hypomnemata*, lexica, erudite collections of different kinds) and rearranging it in a sort of patchwork by a procedure that combined copy-pasting and an original set-up. The concept of 'relative exhaustiveness' must be invoked for at least three reasons: firstly, the objective limits on the circulation of information and of books; secondly, the selection of the sources and the compilation criteria, which were oriented by the motives of the excerptor or the patron who had commissioned the work; and finally, the limited capacity of the page margins in the codex. Accordingly, the result of the compilation could be highly variable, depending on its aims: philological interest in the text, educational material for students attending a school, or antiquarian erudition, or even a private individual's desire to acquire a good literary background in order to achieve a more elevated social status. Therefore, both the content and quality of the scholiastic *corpora* were uneven, inasmuch as they were influenced by different motives and factors from the very moment of their conception and production.

2.3. Anonymity

A second major feature of literary scholiography, which distinguishes it significantly from genuinely literary texts and from authorial commentaries as well, seems to be the lack of strong 'authoriality'. The marked individuality of great commentators – such as Aristarchus of Samothrace, or Alexander of Aphrodisias in the field of philosophy, or Galen in that of medicine – was (seen as) a guarantee of the quality of the commentary. Explicit and clearly evident authorship was a synonym of authoritativeness and it thus could almost be seen as a brand or a hallmark of quality with regard to the book in question. Therefore, the name of the commentator was jealously preserved in the title of the exegetical work, without concern for the fact that the commentary itself

often underwent cuts and other alterations in the course of its transmission.⁵ For this very same aura of prestige, the commentator was often quoted by subsequent erudites as an actual *auctoritas* (*sicut dicit* ...). But who were the individuals behind the creation of a corpus of literary scholia? Generally, they were expert readers and learned users of a literary work and of the related traditional equipment of explanations. They were excerptors, and they were not in themselves ‘authors’ of original and consistent exegetical writings. At the same time, however, we cannot simply define their work as a mere scribal act. They were appointed, or self-appointed, to perform an editorial task of a compilatory nature: collecting, comparing, and selecting different available commentaries, then excerpting, re-arranging, and enriching the various explanations as in a *collage* of second hand and new materials. The aim of the scholiasts was to provide an efficient aid for a good understanding of the text commented upon, according to defined purposes. As a consequence, in a sense they were simply ‘copyists-redactors’, inasmuch as they were not the authors of the materials they excerpted; yet to some extent they were indeed also ‘authors’, in the sense that the scholia were the result of their personal insight and their own discretionary criteria of texture and composition. When reading scholia, we feel a high degree of anonymity of the commenting voice. Therefore, when we are induced to attribute an identity to the anonymous voice, we typically refer to the individual simply as ‘the scholiast’. To put it another way, a scholium does not correspond to a personal and identified *auctoritas*; consequently, in no way can it be cited as the grammatical subject of the phrase *sicut dicit*...⁶ All this suggests that anonymity is a genuine feature of the scholiographic ‘genre’, more than the outcome of accidents which occurred in the textual tradition.⁷

⁵ e.g. P. Amherst II 12, of the 3rd c. AD, containing a fragment of a very selective *hypomnema* on Herodotus’ book 1 which the subscription attributes to Aristarchus (edition and commentary in Montana 2019).

⁶ In contrast, the Greek scholia frequently cite *auctoritates* introduced by Greek equivalent phrases of *sicut dicit*, plus personal name in the function of grammatical subject: for instance, *sch. Il.* 1.129c Erbse οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος τρισυλλάβως (*scil.* γράφει).

⁷ See Montana 2014a, pp. 12–13. On authority and authorship vs anonymity in the middle Byzantine literature, see the essays collected in Pizzone 2014, especially Papaioannou 2014. That anonymity was a deliberate feature of scho-

2.4. Weakness of Textual Identity

A further and consequent feature of literary scholiography can be described as follows: low authorship entails weak textual identity. Once the genetic act of planning and drafting for the first time a corpus of exegetical excerpts had been fulfilled, thereafter no subsequent learned reader of the commented text would in theory refrain from handling, re-working, reducing, and improving the scholia according to his own purposes. This is why the manuscript witnesses of the same scholiastic corpus sometimes show strong inconsistencies with each other and offer many episodes of ‘impudent’ re-wordings, alterations, displacements, additions and cuts. Textual instability, which typically occurs during the transmission of literary writings, in this case interferes in a totally different circumstance: it characterizes the ‘work’ itself, here taken as a pragmatic, open and malleable entity.⁸

2.5. Editor’s Main Issue

From this set of features a major methodological question arises for modern editors of scholia: what is the real object of their textual constitution? Which version is in fact the text to be edited, in such a fluid and mobile instantiation of texts? This field of scholarship definitely represents one of the most challenging instances of the intrinsic competition and clash between textual criticism and history of the tradition. To highlight the extremes: historians of the manuscript tradition are likely to place emphasis on the individuality of each witness: they consider each manuscript as the unique witness of a textual arrangement, the individual product of a specific reception, cultural experience, and hermeneutic performance. As a consequence, each manuscript copy containing a corpus of scholia could ideally be worthy of receiving its own editorial attention.⁹ At the opposite pole, from

liography in the Byzantine era is confirmed *e contrario* by the importance connected to strong authorship by contemporary commentators such as John Tzetzes (c. 1100–1180): cf. e.g. Budelmann 2002, especially pp. 148–53.

⁸ The same occurs, for instance, with the anonymous hagiographical tradition of the middle Byzantine era: Papaioannou 2014, p. 31.

⁹ Among the medieval tradition of the scholia to the *Iliad*, the manuscript known as Venetus A (on which see below, § 3.3) enjoyed an interest of this sort,

the point of view of textual criticism the main and ideal task of the editor is to establish the univocal text corresponding to a well-defined stage in the tradition of the piece of writing which is to be edited. For the ancient literary works, this stage can be identified with the Byzantine archetype or a defined amount of Late Antique ancestors of the extant medieval manuscripts of each of these works. According to this view, the manuscripts are not vehicles of different texts: rather, they are all copies, variably divergent or corrupted, of one original text that must be (more or less) univocally recovered. However, when the modern editor is dealing with such paraliterary, non- or low-authorial and fluid writings as the scholia, the serious problem arises of how to balance the task of providing a critical text as compared to the need to take into account a number of conscious textual re-shapings, re-workings, and adaptations.

2.6. A Tentative Answer

This editorial problem calls for a special effort in terms of methodological reflection and requires a carefully meditated response. We can endorse the advice put forward by Georgios A. Xenis in his critical edition of the *scholia uetera* to Sophocles' *Electra*: 'an editor of as varied a sort of entity as scholia has to be very clear about what specific *corpus* of scholia and what specific *version* of scholia he sets out to edit'.¹⁰ In line with this only apparently truisitic and self-evident statement, we can work on the basis of the following hypothesis: the task of the critical editor of scholia resides in identifying the most crucial stage in the making of a scholiastic corpus or class, insofar as this stage is recognizable and recoverable through the extant manuscripts. As a consequence, the ideal target would be to recover the original product of the compilatory

at times overstated, because of its exceptional value from the codicological, paleographical, and textual points of view. An instance of this extreme and 'fetishistic' approach is the peculiar disapproval expressed by Ebbott 2009, p. 50, against the presence of scholia from other manuscripts, in addition to and alternating with those from the Venetus A, in the pages of Erbse's critical edition.

¹⁰ Xenis 2010, p. 19. He continues as follows: 'It is the aim of the present book to produce a critical edition of the *scholia uetera* to Sophocles's *Electra* in their *oldest recoverable* corpus and version' (here and in the quotation above in the main text, the emphases are by the author).

project, of which the surviving manuscripts represent traditional descendants and reworkings.

This tentative answer may sound abstract and can probably be rendered more precise through the negative route of exclusion than through positive assertions. Certainly, it rules out the option of cutting out the ancient sources that have been excerpted and conflated by the redactor of the scholia and of artificially rearranging them in the edition in a completely new set-up (according, for example, to their relative chronology).¹¹ In other words, in no way should the modern editor attempt to disentangle and split up the *collage* conceived and produced by the Byzantine compiler, in order to recover a putative stage prior to the composition of the corpus.¹² 'Taking to pieces' and altering the logical and syntactic concatenation of the scholiastic composition would result in a twofold methodological mistake: on the one hand, it would amount to shifting the objective of the edition away from the scholiastic corpus to its sources, in the attempt to recover the original and full *Wortlaut* of the latter; while on the other, it would come at the expensive cost of the loss of genuine exegetical information, inasmuch as it would sacrifice and obscure from view the rationale that lies at the root of the compiler's project – whatever this rationale may truly have been or however it may appear in the surviving manuscript tradition.¹³

¹¹ This disputable procedure is worth mentioning, because it is actually adopted for instance in many of the volumes of the scholia to Aristophanes' comedies edited at Groningen under the supervision of W. J. W. Koster and D. Holwerda: see Montana 2017.

¹² By contrast, far different, and of very great utility and importance, is the recognition and clear highlighting of the exegetical sources that are interwoven within the text of the scholia. Erbse, for instance, in his edition of the *Iliad* scholia systematically indicates in the external margin of the page the (plausible) provenance of each scholium or of its components (e.g. '*Did.*' for 'Didymus', '*Porph.*' for Porphyry, and so on).

¹³ Not infrequently Erbse, in his edition, introduces a modification in the transmitted text, above all that of the *scholia exegetica*, often taking his cue from previous editors, especially for correcting or integrating lemmata and at times to associate the scholia with the parts of the Homeric text that are (in his view) genuinely involved (cf. Erbse 1969–1988, I, p. LXXIV). For instance, he publishes as *sch.* 21.194c² and 21.195c that which in manuscript T is only one single scholium, and in the critical apparatus he notes: 'distinxi et transposui, le.[mma] addidi, δε [i.e. the syntactic connective which in T establishes the continuity of the two annotations] deleui' (Erbse 1969–1988, V, p. 169). An analogous case, which

Similarly, the object of the editor's attention cannot be identified with the opposite pole of the textual tradition, namely *sic et simpliciter* with each of the different textual instantiations of the corpus which were produced over time.¹⁴ This perspective is not devoid of utility and it is hardly surprising that in a sense it often influenced past editors who had a propensity for the criterion of the *codex optimus* (which in any case aimed at recovering the 'original' text of the edited work). However, this procedure merely allows restitution of developments of the text that occurred later than the initial project and that may well have come to be quite distant from it. On the other hand, modern editors must guard against the risk of undervaluing all of the textual variants and downgrading them to mere scribal acts: rather, a difficult decision must be made as to which of them are to be considered as genuine re-writings, and whether and how to give an account of them in the edition.

Therefore, strictly from the point of view of the task of textual criticism, the target of the editor could be ideally defined as follows: to determine the original stage of an extant exegetical compilation; to reconstruct its text insofar as this is possible on the basis of the preserved manuscripts; and at the same time to give an account of its textual mobility over time. The original stage of a corpus, or a fairly close descendant of the original, is expected to coincide with the archetype of the available medieval manuscripts. In order to take into account the episodes of traditional divergence or re-working and adaptation of material within a scholiastic class, the editor must find a way of describing them in his prefatory notes, and of incorporating them into the text itself or recording them in the critical or source apparatuses of his edition.

again concerns the separation and transposition of parts of that which in manuscript T is a single scholium, can be found in the edition of the *sch. Il.* 24.679–81 and 24.681. These interventions are criticized as arbitrary by van Thiel 2014a, p. 32 with n. 12. However, they were introduced by Erbse in order to restore the presumed genuine set-up of the scholiastic compilation: therefore, it seems more appropriate to discuss the correctness and suitability of the individual interventions from the point of view of textual criticism, rather than their methodological plausibility.

¹⁴ On the critical editing of 'scribal copies': Chiesa ²2012, pp. 132–36.

3. *Iliad Scholia and Erbse's Edition*

3.1. Families of Manuscripts and Classes of Scholia

The general conception of scholiography outlined above also underlies Erbse's edition of the *Iliad* scholia. In effect, his edition focuses not so much on reconstruction of the actual content of the individual manuscripts or of the families of manuscripts as, rather, on the text of the individual classes of scholia.¹⁵ This crucial distinction must be kept carefully in mind: the families of manuscripts are defined by the traditional 'kinship' relationships that arose during the copying processes, whereas the classes of scholia correspond to different and independent projects and editorial acts involving compilation of sources. The two entities are not overlapping.

Scholarly studies have identified three main classes of scholia on the *Iliad*, recognizable on the basis of content and which should therefore be considered as the product of independent compilatory projects undertaken in different contexts and times, and for different purposes. Their modern names are D-scholia, VMK-scholia, and *scholia exegetica*. While it is true that the manuscripts show the outcome of the process of free manipulation and contamination of these scholiastic materials, with the tendency to mix and hybridize contents from different classes, for the most part we are nevertheless capable of recognizing them and keeping them distinct.¹⁶

3.2. The D-Scholia

The D-scholia are the class containing the exegetical material that has the most ancient origin. They are so-called because at one time they were erroneously attributed to the Alexandrian grammarian Didymus Chalcenterus, with whom, however, they have absolutely no connection. The material is composite and includes

¹⁵ Starting from the very beginning of the *Praefatio*: § A. *De classibus, in quas scholia in Homeri Iliadem distribuuntur* (Erbse 1969–1988, I, pp. XI–XIII).

¹⁶ Fundamental studies on the classes of the *Iliad* scholia, which appeared just before Erbse's edition began to be published, are Erbse 1960 and van der Valk 1963–1964.

simple glosses, paraphrases, *zetemata* (critical questions), *historiai* (mythographic narratives), and *hypotheseis* (summaries of the books of the poem). The roots of the D-scholia go back to the most ancient exegesis on the *Iliad*, earlier than the Hellenistic era. At least their glossographic component probably dates back to the explanatory activity of the rhapsodes and to interpreters of the Homeric vocabulary, who were known in the ancient sources as ‘glossographers’. These glosses were utilized by readers, students and scholars of all cultural levels and over a centuries-long period of time. It is acknowledged that an Alexandrian philologist of the calibre of Aristarchus knew and took into consideration this material.¹⁷ The popularity of this strand is documented both by its vast dissemination in the Homeric papyri (the so-called *scholia minora*, better defined as *glossaries*),¹⁸ and also by its transformation into an alphabetic lexicon preserved in medieval manuscripts (the *lexeis Homerikai*).¹⁹

Significant correspondences for the other components of the D-scholia can likewise be found in the Homeric papyri, in particular for the mythographic *historiai*. The numerous direct contacts we can establish between the medieval manuscripts and a well-documented tradition of *historiai* on papyrus allow all these materials to be traced back to an ancient collection of such texts, now lost. The order of the *historiai* originally followed the narration of the poems, and each summary was preceded by a lemma that linked it to the Homeric text. This collection is conventionally designated in modern studies as *Mythographus Homericus*.²⁰

The D-scholia have come down to us through an extensive manuscript tradition. A fairly cohesive core group consisting of a small number of witnesses has the distinctive characteristic of

¹⁷ Cf. Erbse 1969–1988, I, p. XI; van Thiel 2014a, pp. 7–9.

¹⁸ Two lists of these papyri are available on the Internet, drawn up respectively by John Lundon and by Franco Montanari, Davide Muratore and Paola Ascheri (see in the Bibliography). In general for the Homeric exegesis preserved on papyri, see the contribution by Lara Pagani in this volume.

¹⁹ De Marco 1946 (unfinished edition); van Thiel 2005 (*proecdosis*; first release 2002).

²⁰ After Panzer 1892, selectively: Montanari 1979, 1995a, pp. 69–85 (especially pp. 74–77), and 1995b; Haslam 1990; van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, pp. 85–118 and 278–309; Pagès Cebrián 2007; Montana & Montanari, forthcoming.

presenting the scholia in full-page format, not in the form of marginal notes written by the side of the text of the poem, but as a running commentary. Furthermore, D-scholia can be found in many of the main witnesses of the other two classes, as marginal or interlinear annotations set alongside the Homeric poem, and in an extremely rich group of manuscripts known as the *h*-family, of which more will be said shortly.²¹

Erbse decided to include in his edition only the other two classes of scholia; therefore, his choice of the D-material to be included was deliberately selective and incomplete.²² We have available the *editio princeps* of the D-scholia, published in 1517 by Ianos Laskaris, whose sources have not yet been fully clarified.²³ Modern editorial attempts were made in the nineteenth century by Adolf Schimberg and Vittorio de Marco. The collation of the principal manuscripts of the D-scholia performed by de Marco remained unaccomplished and unpublished.²⁴ More recently, Helmut van Thiel has proposed a *proecdosis* of these scholia, available on the Internet, based mainly on five of the manuscripts that preserve them as full-page commentaries, as well as on Venetus A and, sporadically, on the Laskarian *princeps*.²⁵ This *proecdosis* is a good step forward, but it suffers from several defects: it dispenses with the testimony of the numerous other witnesses of the D-scholia; the variants of the manuscripts utilized are reported selectively; its selection criteria are neither consistently nor systematically applied; and it is strongly biased in favour of the most ancient witness, the so-called Romanus-Matritensis (Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale, gr. 6 + Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 4626; *siglum* Z in van Thiel's *proecdosis*), probably of the end of the 9th century, essentially taken as the *codex optimus*. Unfortunately, van Thiel died in 2014 and his edition will remain unfinished.

²¹ On the manuscript tradition of the D-scholia: Schimberg 1892; de Marco 1932 and 1941; Montanari 1979, pp. 3–25, 43–75.

²² Erbse 1969–1988, I, pp. LXXIV–LXXV.

²³ *Status quaestionis* and some steps forward in Muratore 2018.

²⁴ Vittorio de Marco entrusted his preparatory materials to Franco Montanari, and our staff is currently engaged in checking and re-elaborating them.

²⁵ Van Thiel 2014a (first release 2000).

3.3. The VMK-Scholia

The other two classes of scholia form the object of Erbse's edition, where they are denominated as *scholia grammatica* or *maiora* (but the latter designation is inadvisable, as it expresses a cultural appraisal based on a preconceived high-brow 'scholarly' approach). The main witness of the first class is a splendid 10th century manuscript of the *Iliad* particularly famous among the world of specialists, the Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 454 (coll. 822), known as Venetus A.²⁶ The subscriptions that can be read in the manuscript at the end of almost all the books of the *Iliad* inform us that the main source of the scholia lies in works composed between the 1st century BC and 2nd century AD by the Alexandrian scholars Didymus, Aristonicus, Nicenor and Herodian. Their writings were based on the philological works of Aristarchus of Samothrace on the *Iliad*, as well as on the related learned discussions of the early and middle Hellenistic age. The works of the above mentioned scholars were predominantly interventions concerning issues of textual philology (*diorthosis*, 'emendation') and aiming at text constitution (*ekdosis*, '[critical] edition'). In Late Antiquity, an unknown scholar composed a compendium of the writings of the four Alexandrians, which is conventionally known as the *Viermännerkommentar* and referred to by the siglum VMK. Subsequently, through various redactional transitions that are still being reconstructed, this compendium became the original core of the VMK-scholia of Venetus A. This exegetical component is contained partly in the three wide external margins of the page in the codex (A-scholia, according to Erbse's *sigla*), and partly also in shorter and concise annotations placed between the scholia of the outer margin and the text of the poem, and between the latter and the internal margin (respectively Erbse's A^{im} and A^{int}, both also known as *Textscholien* because of their strictly textual concern) and, additionally, in the interlinear spaces of the latter (Erbse's A^{il}).²⁷

²⁶ Excellent digital images of the manuscript are available at the website of the *Homer Multitext Project*: <http://www.homermultitext.org/hmt-image-archive/venetus-a/>.

²⁷ Erbse 1969–1988, I, pp. XIII–XVI, XLV–XLVIII. On *Textscholien*: Pagani 2018.

The Venetus A also includes explanatory material characteristic of the other two classes, which indicates that additional comments deriving from those two different strands were grafted onto the VMK-scholia at a fairly early stage of their transmission: plausibly in the model of the Venetus, a lost miscellaneous commentary perhaps identifiable with the work quoted by Eustathius as Ἀπίωνος καὶ Ἡροδώρου ὑπομνήματα (Erbse's *siglum* Ap. H.).²⁸ Annotations drawn from the D-scholia and from the *scholia exegetica* are thus intermingled with the VMK-scholia in the three external margins of the page of the codex; moreover, often the D-glosses can be found written directly above the Homeric words involved, between the lines of the poem (A^{il}, as mentioned, in Erbse's edition).

Given that Erbse structured his work as the edition of classes of scholia, Venetus A is taken as a witness now of VMK-scholia, now of *scholia exegetica*. However, he also mentions the quite wide D-scholia present in the margins of Venetus A, though without giving the complete text but quoting only the first and last words of the individual scholia.²⁹ To give an example: of the D-scholium to *Il.* 1.222 μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους, which occupies over six lines in Laskaris' *editio princeps*, in Erbse's edition we read only: 'οὕτως δαίμονας καλεῖ τοὺς θεοὺς – δαίμονας φύλακας θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων. A'.³⁰

3.4. The *scholia exegetica*

The other class edited by Erbse is that known as *scholia exegetica*, so defined because of their mostly content-related and interpretive character. Their fundamental witnesses are a group of five manuscripts known collectively by the *siglum* 'bT': London, British Library, Burney 86, called 'Townleianus' (T); Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 453 (coll. 821) (B); El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, y. I. 1 (294 Andrés) (E³); El Escorial, Real Biblioteca,

²⁸ Erbse 1969–1988, I, pp. XLV–XLVII.

²⁹ Erbse 1969–1988, I, p. LXXIV: 'Scholiorum classis D saepe amplorum, quae in codice A leguntur, nihil exscripsi nisi verba initii et exitus: ita amplitudo scholii facile computari potest'. Erbse continues by informing the reader that in the edition he deliberately omitted all the interlinear D-glosses and paraphrases present in Venetus A.

³⁰ Erbse 1969–1988, I, p. 71.

Ω. I. 12 (513 Andrés) (E⁴); and Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. plut. 32.3 (C).³¹ Although all of them are usually dated by scholars to the 11th century, the Laurentian manuscript has rather to be dated to the middle of the 12th century³² and the Escorialensis E⁴ towards the 13th century.³³ These five witnesses represent two redactions (corresponding, respectively, to T and BCE³E⁴) that are not identical but go back to the same Byzantine archetype (labelled **c** by Erbse). Several recurrent characteristics reflecting a critical approach have long been recognized in this class of scholia,³⁴ and Helmut van Thiel went so far as to argue that the precise authorship of Demetrius Ixion, one among Aristarchus' pupils, could be identified behind the core of these materials.³⁵ However, the genesis of these scholia remains somewhat obscure. They undeniably include excerpts of commentaries dating from the Roman imperial age. The presence of material common to the VMK-scholia demonstrates that the compiler of the *exegetica* had knowledge of that strand and occasionally drew upon it; thus in such cases the manuscripts of the *exegetica* count as witnesses of the class of the VMK-scholia.³⁶ Furthermore, in two of these manuscripts, T and B, hands distinct from the first have added D-scholia. It can also be noted that manuscript E⁴, by contrast, is a witness first and foremost of D-scholia, while the *exegetica* were copied into it on some later occasion by a different hand. Erbse excluded from his edition all of this D-material, apart from what could be demonstrably brought back to the **bT**'s archetype **c**.³⁷ Finally, all these witnesses contain subsequent additions of other explanations, drawn from lexicæ and from the Homeric writings of Porphyry, Heraclitus and Eustathius. Therefore, the **bT** manuscripts provide evidence that the middle Byzantine period saw the

³¹ Descriptions in Erbse 1969–1988, I, pp. XVII–XXI and XXVI–XXVIII.

³² Dating by Giancarlo Prato in Montana 2018.

³³ Maniaci 2006, pp. 222–23 n. 32 and 290–91 with n. 206; Montana & Prato, forthcoming.

³⁴ Reference studies are Schmidt 1976 and 2002; Nünlist 2009. Cf. Erbse 1969–1988, I, pp. XLVIII–LII.

³⁵ Van Thiel 2014b, pp. 10, 20–22.

³⁶ Erbse 1969–1988, I, pp. LII–LVI.

³⁷ Erbse 1969–1988, I, pp. LXXIV–LXXV.

rise of the practice of mechanically juxtaposing different classes of Homeric scholia within a given codex.

3.5. The **h**-family of Manuscripts

This already rather complex picture of reciprocally overlaid and intersecting textual interventions that affected families of manuscripts and classes of scholia is further confused by the intricate situation of an additional group of medieval witnesses, known as the **h**-family. This is an amazingly rich constellation of preserved codices datable to no earlier than the 12th century, which play a crucial role in the tradition of the exegesis on the *Iliad*: they contain a selection of D-scholia in a version re-worked and enriched both with *scholia exegetica* and VMK-scholia. The compiler of **h** drew on the VMK-scholia directly from the model of Venetus A (Ap. H.); for this reason, and only for the scholia to the first book of the *Iliad*, Erbse recorded the readings of some **h** manuscripts in the apparatus whenever this was helpful to restore the text of VMK-scholia that were defective or lacunose in Venetus A.³⁸ Moreover, these manuscripts also contain further material that is not found in the three classes mentioned. The question thus arises of whether these additions actually represent an independent class of scholia.³⁹

Current studies are revealing that this branch of the tradition is extremely rich.⁴⁰ Some years ago, Elisabetta Sciarra explored its diffusion in the Italo-Greek (Otrantine) area during the second half of the 13th century, thereby increasing and improving the stemma reconstructed by Erbse.⁴¹ The extensive investigations currently being carried out by Davide Muratore in the framework of our project indicate that the census and the *recensio* of this vast family of witnesses is far from complete.⁴²

³⁸ Erbse 1969–1988, I, p. LVIII: ‘Sequitur, ut scholia classis **h** maximi momenti sint, ubicumque codex A mendis et lacunis corruptus est’. Cf. Erbse 1960, pp. 207–08.

³⁹ Muratore 2014, p. 64 with n. 53; Montanari, Montana, Muratore & Pagani 2017, p. 4; Montana, forthcoming.

⁴⁰ See e.g. Vassis 1991.

⁴¹ Sciarra 2005.

⁴² Muratore 2014, with App. 2 (list of manuscripts and related *sigla*).

3.6. Authoriality and Textual Identity in the *Iliad* Scholia

The overall characteristics of the **h**-family of manuscripts are particularly significant and call for special reflection linked to the initial observations on the nature of scholiography to the Greek literary texts. In the context of the *scholia* to the *Iliad*, these manuscripts constitute the most eloquent example of how tenuous, in the Byzantines' perception, were the concepts of authorship and textual identity of the scholiastic corpora. As we have seen, the three classes of scholia took shape between Late Antiquity and the beginning of the middle Byzantine period, as independent miscellaneous compilations of ancient authorial commentaries. Mixtures between these classes began to be carried out as early as the 10th century, when the redactor of Venetus A – or better, the redactor of its model – interspersed D-scholia and *scholia exegetica* in the midst of materials dating back to VMK. Moreover, some manuscripts of the **bT**-family testify that, possibly since the 11th century, different hands had juxtaposed D-scholia and *scholia exegetica* in the same codex. The **h**-family also documents that not after the 12th century a second-degree scholiastic compilation was created, in which materials from all three of the classes of scholia were amalgamated and re-worked. That this was a malleable and highly successful tool is made clear by the breadth and dissemination of the associated manuscript tradition. Another aspect worth mentioning in this context is that investigation into the paraphrases of the poem brings to light significant exchanges between this type of exegetical production – starting from the paraphrase traditionally attributed to Michael Psellos – and the glossographic component of the scholia.⁴³

If in the mind of the critical editor all these phenomena assume the appearance and the disturbing name of 'contamination' and promise to become terrible conundrums, from the point of view of the history of the tradition they constitute extremely interesting cases of reception, appropriation and re-utilization of a variegated and thousand-year-old cultural heritage.

⁴³ Muratore 2014.

3.7. Homeric Exegesis on Papyrus

Erbse eventually included in his edition the text of 14 papyri with exegesis of the *Iliad*, dated to between the 2nd century BC and 3rd century AD.⁴⁴ Since they are clearly independent of the three classes of scholia transmitted by medieval manuscripts, he edited them separately, positioning them before the scholia for each book of the poem.⁴⁵ This is an aspect which Lara Pagani's contribution addresses in this volume. It is known that the availability of documents of this kind has undergone a spectacular increase over recent decades, so that even from the point of view of space economy it is hardly feasible now to expect them to be included in an edition of the scholia of medieval manuscripts. But the most significant reason, as already highlighted by Erbse, for awarding special treatment to the papyri and thus considering them as distinct from the medieval tradition is the scanty homogeneity of the two types of exegetical heritage. Close similarities between the papyri and the mythographic and glossographic components of the D-scholia can be hardly assumed as clues of direct traditional relationship.⁴⁶

A quite different and surprising circumstance is offered by P. Oxy. LXXVI 5095, consisting of the remnants of a codex dated on a paleographic basis to about the 6th century AD. It preserves fragments of a continuous commentary on lines from *Iliad* 12 and 15, for which we are able to identify frequent and highly significant points of contact with the corresponding *scholia exegetica*. There are sufficient affinities to suggest a possible relationship of the commentary with one of the lost sources of this class of scholia. This exceptional document will most certainly have to be taken into account in the edition of the medieval scholia to the *Iliad*.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Erbse 1969–1988, I, pp. XXXIV–XLIV. Later Erbse admitted in his edition two more papyri (IIa and VIIa; the second is the oldest papyrus included, 2nd c. BC), but he excluded pap. VII and XIV: Erbse 1969–1988, VII, pp. 265–66.

⁴⁵ Erbse 1969–1988, I, p. XIII, defines as '*sui iuris*' the hypomnematic tradition testified in the papyri; cf. p. LXXIV and Erbse 1960, pp. 437–38.

⁴⁶ On the relationship between the scholiastic D-*historiai* and the papyri of the *Mythographus Homericus*, see Pagès Cebrián 2007, pp. 36, 87–88; Montana & Montanari, forthcoming.

⁴⁷ *Editio princeps* of this papyrus: Montanari 2012. See also Montanari 2009; Montana 2013. Porro 2014, p. 204 n. 27, is inclined to date the papyrus to the end of the 6th-beginning of the 7th century.

In any case, the commented edition of the papyri containing exegesis on the Homeric poem(s) is planned for a different editorial project currently in progress, the series of the *Commentaria et Lexica Graeca in Papyris Reperta* (CLGP).⁴⁸ Accordingly, generally speaking and allowing for possible exceptions, the papyri should not be included in the new edition of the Homeric scholia.

3.8. Summary

To sum up, Erbse restricted his edition to the *scholia grammatica* (as he calls them), namely VMK and *exegetica*. As far as the D-scholia are concerned, he awarded most selective consideration only to those present in the manuscripts Venetus A and **b**T. He drew only to an extremely limited and instrumental extent on the **h**-family of manuscripts, to improve the text of the VMK-scholia. Moreover, he included the exegesis on papyrus, reserving an independent space for it. The output of his *recensio* was a closed stemma and an archetype for each of both edited classes (respectively, the model of Venetus A, named ‘Ap. H.’, and that of the manuscripts **b**T, called **c**), with an indication of the horizontal flows that had occurred among the archetypes and which had led to the mingling of the materials.⁴⁹ In short, his aim was that his edition should restore the text of the two archetypes, i.e. the individuality of each of the two *corpora* of *scholia grammatica* in the most ancient stage that can be reconstructed on the basis of the manuscripts.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ This series is under the editorial supervision of G. Bastianini, D. Colomo, M. Haslam, H. Maehler, F. Montanari, C. Römer and myself, and is being published by De Gruyter. It is worth recalling that the exegetical *marginalia* found on Homeric papyri have been edited by McNamee 2007.

⁴⁹ See the stemma at Erbse 1969–1988, I, p. LVIII (reproduced in the present volume within Pagani’s contribution).

⁵⁰ Erbse 1969–1988, I, p. LXXIII: ‘Duorum archetyporum textus in integrum restituere conatus sum, e quibus codices et excerpta medii aevii pendent, commentariorum dico Ap. H. (h. e. exempli codicis A) et **c** (**b**T)’.

4. *Towards a New Edition: What and How*

4.1. What is Missing and What Can be Improved in Erbse's Edition

The picture presented here has not only pinpointed several important methodological issues linked to the editing of the *Iliad* scholia (they will be summed up in the final page of this paper), but has also highlighted the major fact that Erbse's edition, though excellent, offers incomplete coverage of the preserved exegetical heritage. As a result, a few consequences can be inferred with regard to the features of a possible new edition (see also Table 1, below).

From the quantitative point of view, substantial increases are to be expected, and are being arranged by our team. Firstly, it would be desirable for the complete edition of the D-scholia to be integrated, both by utilizing the evidence of manuscripts Vetus A and bT, and also by proceeding to a fresh collation and *recensio* of the witnesses used by Schimberg, de Marco and van Thiel in their preparatory works. Furthermore, the impact of the h-family of manuscripts can no longer be underestimated; extensive surveys of these witnesses are being conducted by Davide Muratore and are leading to promising and original results. Finally, the close relations that can be recognized between the paraphrases present in the manuscripts and the different classes of scholia, especially the D-glosses, suggest that this particular and widespread form of production should also be taken into consideration as an important component of the exegetical mosaic itself.⁵¹

From the qualitative point of view, important revision and maintenance work needs to be undertaken in this sphere as well. Firstly, explorations carried out so far by our team on the witnesses of the so-called *scholia grammatica* reveal that in some cases Erbse's work was not free from imperfections, due to errors, omissions, and misunderstandings. For this reason, new collations are called for and are currently in progress.⁵² Secondly, and finally, in

⁵¹ See e.g. Muratore 2014 and 2016.

⁵² See Muratore 2012; Montana 2018. As far as the collation of the manuscript witnesses is concerned, one should bear in mind the technological condi-

recent decades specialist research on ancient and Byzantine scholarship in general and on Homeric exegesis in particular has taken enormous steps forward: critical-textual and interpretive contributions have multiplied, leading to the need to extend and update the bibliography, text and apparatuses of the edition.⁵³

4.2. Methodological Implications

All in all, the task of the editor of the *Iliad* scholia involves a number of methodological issues, many of which have been touched upon in this paper. It is worth summarising them in conclusion.

Editing scholia entails an in-depth reflection on the general constitutive characteristics of Greek scholiography. This implies, first and foremost, assessing whether exegesis in the different spheres of culture and written production shows noteworthy differences from one genre to another: in other words, whether scholia to literary works exhibit specific and recognizable features of their own, as compared to those pertaining to ancient texts that were more closely linked to professional knowledge, expertise, and practices. There are some indications that distinctive peculiarities do exist.

As for the scholiographic texts pertaining to the literary sphere, they are characterized by pragmatic educational goals and low authorial identity (anonymity: no personal name to put as a grammatical subject in the phrase *sicut dicit* ...). For this reason, they are intrinsically malleable and unstable entities. This prompts an extremely radical question, concerning the very nature of the objectives of textual philology in the case of scholia to literary works. Scholiography is probably the field in which philology experiences the greatest possible distance between the point of view of the history of the tradition (addressing the issue of the transformations of the text in the different contexts) and the perspective of textual criticism (establishing the text). A rational answer to the difficulty of reconciling the two opposing view-

tions in which Erbse was operating: he was working on reproductions (essentially xerox copies, at that time) and it was only as a second step that he checked the individual doubtful points by an autoptic examination of the originals.

⁵³ For a specimen of the projected new edition: Montanari, Montana, Mura-tore & Pagani 2017.

points lies in making them interact virtuously, in order to achieve a critical recovery of the text of a scholiastic corpus in the most significant traditional stage that the preserved manuscripts allow to recognize (in the ideal case, the text of the 'original' stage).

The next problem to be addressed is the outcome, in the case of particularly complex traditions, of the frequent coexistence and fusion of different exegetical projects within the scholiastic equipment of an individual manuscript. In this regard, crucial importance attaches to the distinction between an exegetical project and the manuscript tradition, that is, between classes of scholia and families of manuscripts. As is shown in an exemplary manner by the scholia to the *Iliad*, the medieval manuscripts are witnesses of continuous and at times intricate processes of 'contamination' of exegetical projects, or classes, which sprang from different origins and for different purposes. Accordingly, the *recensio* and the examination of the manuscripts involves a delicate additional duty: the attempt to distinguish and separate the components that can be traced back to different classes but which have been arranged or fused together in a new amalgam. It is the task of textual criticism to weigh up the accidental or substantial significance of the variants in relation to the class of scholia and to the evolution of the latter over time, and to assess the most correct and effective manner of accounting in the edition for the divergences among the witnesses. This is also the major challenge in a particular sector of our current study on the *Iliad* scholia: how to disentangle the complex web of the h-family of manuscripts. Here the 'contamination' of the known classes of scholia and other exegetical materials appears to be the rule more than an accident; the copyists look more and more like erudite and active re-makers; and finally – the most puzzling crux for the editor – a number of manuscripts actually turn out to seem like, or rather to be, the witnesses of as many autonomous and self-contained processes of atomization and subsequent re-composition of the original clusters of exegetical texts.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ I am grateful to the organizers of the Leuven workshop from which the present paper and book originated. My gratitude also goes to Franco Montanari, Davide Muratore, Lara Pagani, and the anonymous reviewers, for their helpful advice. This paper was translated into English by Rachel Barritt Costa.

TABLE 1.

The content of Erbse's edition and the planned new edition of the *Iliad* scholia.

Erbse's edition	The planned new edition
<p><u>marginalia</u> and <u>hypomnemata</u> in papyri</p> <p><u>VMK-scholia</u>: Alexandrian textual philology – MS Venetus A – also bT-MSS – also h-MSS (most selectively)</p> <p><u>scholia exegetica</u>: mostly interpretive notes – bT-MSS – also MS Venetus A</p> <p><u>D-scholia</u>: glosses, paraphrases, <i>zetemata</i>, <i>historiai</i>, hypotheses – MS Venetus A (only indication of long scholia) – bT-MSS (most selectively)</p>	<p>—⁵⁵</p> <p><u>VMK-scholia</u>: Alexandrian textual philology – MS Venetus A – also bT-MSS – also h-MSS (all)</p> <p><u>scholia exegetica</u>: mostly interpretive notes – bT-MSS – also MS Venetus A – also h-MSS</p> <p><u>D-scholia</u>: glosses, paraphrases, <i>zetemata</i>, <i>historiai</i>, hypotheses – MS Venetus A (all) – bT-MSS (all) – MSS E⁴Pal²QXYZ – h-MSS</p> <p><u>h-scholia?</u>: not D-, not VMK-, not <i>exegetica</i> scholia – h-MSS</p> <p><u>glossography/lexicography</u> linked to D-scholia: – '<i>scholia minora</i>' (glosses in papyri) – <i>Lexeis Homerikai</i> (alphabetical arrangement of D-scholia in medieval MSS)</p> <p><u>paraphrases</u></p>

⁵⁵ Exegetical material (*hypomnemata*, *marginalia*, and glossaries) transmitted in papyri will be edited in the *Commentaria et Lexica Graeca in Papyris Reperta*, Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- H. Erbse (1969–1988), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (*Scholia vetera*), I–VII, Berlin: De Gruyter.
- V. de Marco (1946), *Scholia Minora in Homeri Iliadem*, 1. *Αέξεις Ὀμηρικαί codd. Urb. CLVII et Selestadiensis CVII* [sic, lege: CV], Città del Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis. [Only letters α-ε].
- F. Montana (2019), ‘Herodotus’, in G. Bastianini, D. Colomo, M. Haslam, H. Machler, F. Montana, F. Montanari & C. Römer (eds), *Commentaria et Lexica Graeca in Papyris Reperta*, I.2.6. *Galeanus-Hipponax*, Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter, pp. 17–89.
- F. Montanari (2012), ‘P. Oxy. 5095’, in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, LXXVI, London: Egypt Exploration Society, pp. 177–92.
- F. Montanari, D. Muratore & P. Ascheri, *Scholia minora in Homerum*: <http://www.aristarchus.unige.net/Scholia/it-IT/Home>.
- J. Pagès Cebrián (2007), *Mythographus Homericus. Estudi i edició comentada*, Tesi Doctoral, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Departament Ciències de l’Antiguitat i de l’Edat Mitjana.
- H. van Thiel (2005), *Αέξεις Ὀμηρικαί*, Proecdosis correctior 2005, online at: <http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/5253/> (first release 2002).
- H. van Thiel (2014a), *Scholia D in Iliadem secundum codices manu scriptos*, Proecdosis aucta et correctior 2014. Adiuerunt N. Conrad et S. Matthaios, online at: <http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/5586/> (first release 2000).
- H. van Thiel (2014b), *Aristarch, Aristophanes Byzantios, Demetrios Ixion, Zenodot. Fragmente zur Ilias gesammelt, neu herausgegeben und kommentiert*, I–IV, Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter.
- G. A. Xenis (2010), *Scholia vetera in Sophoclis Electram*, Berlin, New York: De Gruyter.

Secondary Literature

- F. Budelmann (2002), ‘Classical Commentary in Byzantium. John Tzetzes on Ancient Greek Literature’, in R. K. Gibson & C. Shuttleworth Kraus (eds), *The Classical Commentary. Histories, Practices, Theory*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 141–69.
- P. Chiesa (²2012), *Elementi di critica testuale*, Bologna: Pàtron editore.
- V. de Marco (1932), ‘Sulla tradizione manoscritta degli *Scholia Minora* all’*Iliade*’, in *Atti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Ser.

- 6, *Memorie della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, 4, pp. 371–407.
- V. de Marco (1941), ‘Da un manoscritto degli *Scholia Minora* all’*Iliade*’, in *Atti della Reale Accademia d’Italia, Rendiconto della Classe di Scienze morali e storiche*, Ser. 7, Suppl. al vol. II, pp. 125–45.
- M. Ebbott (2009), ‘Text and Technologies. The *Iliad* and the *Venetus A*’, in C. Dué (ed.), *Recapturing a Homeric Legacy. Images and Insights From the Venetus A Manuscript of the Iliad*, Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, pp. 31–55.
- H. Erbse (1960), *Beiträge zur Überlieferung der Iliasscholien*, München: Beck.
- M. Ercoles, L. Pagani, F. Pontani & G. Ucciardello (eds, 2018), *Approaches to Greek Poetry*, Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter.
- M. W. Haslam (1990), ‘A New Papyrus of the *Mythographus Homericus*’, in *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, 27, pp. 31–36.
- J. Lundon (2012), *The Scholia Minora in Homerum. An Alphabetical List*, Version 1.0, November 2012 (Trismegistos Online Publications, 7): <http://www.trismegistos.org/dl.php?id=14>.
- M. Maniaci (2006), ‘Problemi di “mise en page” dei manoscritti con commento a cornice: l’esempio di alcuni testimoni dell’*Iliade*’, in *Segno & Testo*, 4, pp. 211–97.
- S. Matthaios, F. Montanari & A. Rengakos (eds, 2015), *Brill’s Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- K. McNamee (2007), *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt*, New Haven, Conn.: American Society of Papyrologists.
- F. Montana (2011), ‘The Making of Greek Scholiastic Corpora’, in F. Montanari & L. Pagani (eds), *From Scholars to Scholia. Chapters in the History of Ancient Greek Scholarship*, Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, pp. 105–61.
- F. Montana (2013), ‘Il commentario all’*Iliade* P. Oxy. LXXXVI 5095 e gli *scholia exegetica*’, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 184, pp. 11–20.
- F. Montana (2014a), ‘Introduction: From Types to Texts’, in Montana & Porro 2014, pp. 1–14.
- F. Montana (2014b), ‘Anything but a Marginal Question. On the Meaning of παρακείμενον σχόλιον and παραγράφεσθαι’, in Montana & Porro 2014, pp. 24–38.
- F. Montana (2017), ‘*Zetemata* alessandrini negli scolii alle *Rane* di Aristofane. Riflessioni ecdotiche’, in G. Mastromarco, P. Totaro &

- B. Zimmermann (eds), *La commedia attica antica. Forme e contenuti*, Lecce: Pensa Multimedia, pp. 195–229.
- F. Montana (2018), ‘The Oldest Textual Witness of John Tzetzes’ *Exegesis of the Iliad*’, in Ercoles, Pagani, Pontani & Ucciardello 2018, pp. 107–31.
- F. Montana (forthcoming), ‘Exegetical Dialogue through Compilation. Examples from the *b*-Family of the *Iliad* Scholia’, in the proceedings of the workshop: *Exegesis Interpretation Dialogue. Reading the Iliad Scholia*, Oxford, 5–6 July 2018.
- F. Montana & F. Montanari (forthcoming), ‘The Ecdotic Problem of the *Mythographus Homericus*: Some Thoughts on the Scholiastic Side’, in the proceedings of the workshop: *Mythographus Homericus 125 Years after Panzer. From Scholia to Papyri and to the Digital Era*, Lisbon, 16–17 November 2017.
- F. Montana & A. Porro (eds, 2014), *The Birth of Scholiography. From Types to Texts*, Thematic issue of *Trends in Classics* 6.1.
- F. Montana & G. Prato (forthcoming), ‘Escorial. Ω.I.12: prime ricognizioni su scrittura e *mise en texte* degli scolii all’*Iliade*’, in *Festschrift P. Canart*, Città del Vaticano: Archivio Segreto Vaticano.
- F. Montanari (1979), *Studi di filologia omerica antica*, I, Pisa: Giardini.
- F. Montanari (1995a), *Studi di filologia omerica antica*, II, Pisa: Giardini.
- F. Montanari (1995b), ‘The *Mythographus Homericus*’, in J. G. J. Abbenes, S. R. Slings & I. Sluiter (eds), *Greek Literary Theory after Aristotle. A Collection of Papers in Honour of D. M. Schenkeveld*, Amsterdam: VU University Press, pp. 135–72.
- F. Montanari (2009), ‘A New Papyrus Commentary on the *Iliad*’, in *Trends in Classics*, 1, pp. 177–82.
- F. Montanari, F. Montana, D. Muratore & L. Pagani (2017), ‘Towards a New Critical Edition of the Scholia to the *Iliad*: a Specimen’, in *Trends in Classics*, 9, pp. 1–21.
- D. Muratore (2012), ‘Studi sulla tradizione e sul testo degli *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem*. I. *Iliade* A-B: revisione del testo degli *scholia vetera* (Erbse) nel Venetus A’, in *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*, 140, pp. 425–38.
- D. Muratore (2014), ‘Some Thoughts on the Interlinear Scholia in the *h* Family of the *Iliad*’, in Montana & Porro 2014, pp. 54–89.
- D. Muratore (2016), ‘Studi sulla tradizione e sul testo degli *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem*. 2. Parafrasi e glosse interlineari ai canti A-B dell’*Iliade* nel Venetus A’, in *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*, 144, pp. 361–401.

- D. Muratore (2018), 'On the Sources of Lascaris' Edition of *D-Scholia on the Iliad*', in Ercoles, Pagani, Pontani & Ucciardello 2018, pp. 133–60.
- R. Nünlist (2009), *The Ancient Critic at Work. Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- L. Pagani (2018), 'The *Iliad* "Textscholien" in the Venetus A', in Ercoles, Pagani, Pontani & Ucciardello 2018, pp. 83–106.
- J. Panzer (1892), *De Mythographo Homericō restituendo*, Diss. Greifswald.
- S. Papaioannou, 'Voice, Signature, Mask: the Byzantine Author', in Pizzone 2014, pp. 21–40.
- A. Pizzone (ed., 2014), *The Author in Middle Byzantine Literature. Modes, Functions, and Identities*, Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter.
- A. Porro (2014), 'The Birth of Scholiography: Some Conclusions and Perspectives', in Montana & Porro 2014, pp. 192–205.
- A. Schimberg (1892), *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Scholia Vulgata genannt Didymi*, Göttingen: Dieterich'sche Univ.-Buchdruckerei (reprint of: 'Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Scholia Didymi', in *Philologus*, 49, 1890, pp. 421–56; 'Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Scholia Didymi II-III', in *Wissenschaftliche Beilage zu dem Programm des K. Ev. Gymnasiums zu Ratibor 1891/2*, Göttingen 1891/2).
- M. Schmidt (1976), *Die Erklärungen zum Weltbild Homers und zur Kultur der Heroenzeit in den bT-Scholien zur Ilias*, München: Beck.
- M. Schmidt (2002), 'The Homer of the Scholia: What Is Explained to the Reader?', in F. Montanari (ed.) & P. Ascheri (collab.), *Omero tremila anni dopo*, Atti del Congresso, Genova, 6–8 Luglio 2000, Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, pp. 159–83.
- E. Sciarra (2005), *La tradizione degli scholia iliadici in Terra d'Otranto*, Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.
- M. van der Valk (1963–1964), *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad*, I–II, Leiden: Brill.
- M. E. van Rossum-Steenbeek (1998), *Greek Readers' Digests? Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri*, Leiden: Brill.
- I. Vassis (1991), *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der sogenannten Psellos-Paraphrase der Ilias*, Hamburg: Universität Hamburg.
- G. Zuntz (1975), *Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri*, Berlin: R. Seitz (reprinted, with a *Nachwort*, from: *Byzantion*, 13, 1938, pp. 631–90; 14, 1939, pp. 545–614).

Abstract

The important edition of the *Iliad* scholia by Hartmut Erbse (1969–1988) proves to be an excellent tool from two points of view: the pattern assumed for the textual arrangement and layout of the different classes of scholia and the quality of the text constitution. Neither of these aspects can be basically called into question. Rather, this paper will focus on relevant methodological issues, and particularly: 1) the soundness and effectiveness of Erbse's pattern, in the light of the most representative features (purpose, economy, authorship, textual stability) of Greek scholiography and the related consequences for textual criticism; and 2) the need for availability, within the edition, of other classes of scholia and textual witnesses that were intentionally neglected by Erbse: mainly the D-scholia and the annotations preserved in the branch of manuscripts known as the **h**-family. In addition, the opportunity to improve the critical text of the scholia edited by Erbse and to enlarge and up-date the source apparatus should also be considered, after three decades of extraordinarily intense expansion of studies on ancient scholarship.

ALEXANDER ANDRÉE

University of Toronto

UNLOCKING THE *SACRA PAGINA*: EDITING THE BIBLICAL GLOSS WITH THE HELP OF ITS MEDIEVAL USERS*

The Gloss on the Bible, commonly though inappropriately known as the *Glossa 'ordinaria'*,¹ has continued to baffle scholars of medieval theology and textual editors alike. Historians of theology and medieval exegesis still puzzle over how and why it originated and what its functions were.² Despite studying it for a large part of her scholarly life, Beryl Smalley, uniformly regarded as the greatest authority on the biblical Gloss, had not, at the end of her career, come much closer to solving what she dubbed 'the Gloss problem'.³ Since Smalley's research, pioneering yet tentative, a distorted understanding of the biblical Gloss, its creation, use

* I am grateful to Pieter De Leemans and Shari Boodts for inviting me to Leuven to deliver the paper from which this essay issues.

¹ The term *ordinaria* is late medieval at best and misleading for describing the Gloss in the 12th century; contemporary authors referred to it simply as *glosa* and acknowledged the existence of alternative versions.

² Beryl Smalley first traced the origins and history of the Gloss, particularly in Smalley 1983; in Smith 2010, Smalley's conclusions are largely repeated.

³ In the preface to the third edition of *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. x, Smalley complained that '[t]he pre-history of the Gloss, later known as "Ordinaria" still bristles with question marks'. In 2012, Lesley Smith echoed this statement in Smith 2012, p. 379: 'Seventy-five years after Smalley's groundbreaking work on the Gloss, we can still only echo her cry that more needs to be done. The very vastness of the Gloss and its monolithic centrality in the life of the schools have effectively deterred all but the most determined scholars'. The lack of progress lamented by these authors may be explainable by a lack of serious engagement on the part of scholars with primary sources and a misunderstanding what they actually tell us. For a reset of the 'Gloss problem' and a new direction in the study of the Bible and the development of theology in the 12th century, see Andrée & Clark forthcoming.

and influence has prevailed among scholars.⁴ The focus of Smalley and her followers on the authorship of the books of the Gloss, on its manuscripts and their development, and on its alleged reception by Hugh and Andrew of the school at Saint-Victor has overlooked the essential function of the Gloss as a taught text. Though Smalley managed to track down the origins of the Gloss to the early 12th-century cathedral school of Laon and found evidence of its use by the masters teaching in Paris later in the century,⁵ she bypassed the most important event in the life of the Gloss: when it came to the hands of Peter Lombard, who used it as a textbook for further lectures on the biblical senses and theology.⁶

Issuing from the teaching of the *sacra pagina* at the cathedral school of Laon in northern France, particularly as pursued by its most famous master, Anselm, the Gloss soon became a standard feature in 12th-century theological education.⁷ Originally comprising only select books of Scripture (Genesis, the Song of Songs, the Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, the Catholic Epistles, the Apocalypse),⁸ the Gloss was quickly expanded to embrace almost the entire Bible. This expansion most likely took place in Paris, where the Gloss was used as a textbook for the lectures of masters such as Gilbert of Poitiers, Peter Comestor, and Stephen Langton, and most importantly Peter Lombard. The original purpose of the Gloss is unclear but comprised on the one hand the enabling of easier access to the opinions of the authorities – the Church Fathers and more recent ones – on most parts of Scripture, thus facilitating the process of extrapolating theological doctrine; and on the other of perpetuating the memory of the masters whose

⁴ See for example Smith 2010, which repeats without critical questioning the often very hypothetical research of Smalley. Most often, scholars are content to rehearse the sayings of Smalley as if they were Gospel truth.

⁵ Smalley treats the use of the Gloss in chapter 5 of Smalley 1983, pp. 196–263 entitled ‘Masters of the Sacred Page: the Comestor, the Chanter, Stephen Langton’.

⁶ The use Peter Lombard and his successors made of the Gloss and how this was crucial for the development of theology in the 12th century and beyond is the main theme and conclusion of Andrée & Clark forthcoming.

⁷ On the use of the Gloss by later 12th-century masters, in this case Peter Comestor and Stephen Langton, see Clark 2015. For Comestor’s use of the Gloss, see Andrée 2016b. Also Peter Lombard, Comestor’s teacher and founder of the School of Paris, used the Gloss: see O’Hagan 2017 and Clark 2017.

⁸ Judging by extant manuscripts, these were the earliest books of the Bible to be glossed, which took place at Laon; see Stirnemann 1994, p. 258.

teaching made up the contents of the Gloss.⁹ Therefore, the Gloss itself being a product of oral teaching, the purpose it acquired in the 12th century was that of a text to be used in teaching.

Given its importance for the development of medieval theology, there are sufficient reasons for the Gloss to be edited. Though generally in agreement with this, scholars have asked themselves how one is to edit a text with no distinct author (and, thus, no certain ‘original’ version) that is extant in hundreds of manuscript copies¹⁰ and, possibly, in several different versions.¹¹ The desire of scholars to see editions of the books of the Gloss in print has spawned a number of suggestions as to methods to employ in order to pursue this task:

- (a) To edit the text as early in the transmission as possible from a selection of representative manuscripts, as close to the Laon masters, with whom the Gloss originated, as possible;¹²
- (b) To edit the Gloss from a number of manuscripts selected from a particular stage in its transmission history, e.g. Paris in the early 13th century, which was used by masters of theology such as Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas;¹³
- (c) A full critical recension, if the textual tradition lends itself to it, and the manuscripts are either comparatively few or it is possible to single out distinct versions or recensions.¹⁴

⁹ On the scholastic origins of the Gloss and its development in the hands of the Paris school masters, see Andrée 2020.

¹⁰ The popularity of the Gloss is attested by the many extant manuscripts, most of them from the 12th and 13th centuries: between 100 to 200 manuscript copies per biblical book is an accurate estimate. The Gloss on John is still extant in over 200 manuscripts, of which *c.* 100 come from the 12th century; the Gloss on Lamentations in around 100 manuscripts; the Gloss on Ecclesiastes is found in a similar number. See Andrée 2008, pp. 316–33; Gilbertus Universalis, *Glossa ordinaria*, pp. 88–90; Kostoff-Käard 2015.

¹¹ For an overview of editorial approaches with specific reference to the biblical Gloss, see Andrée 2016a.

¹² This is an approach suggested by Smalley 1961, p. 22, cautiously specified by Bernard Merlette to encompass an edition *précritique*, Merlette 1975, p. 46. A similar approach has been suggested by Stirnemann 1994, p. 258, and put into practice by Mary Dove in her edition of the glossed Song of Songs: *Glossa ordinaria in Canticum canticorum*.

¹³ See Zier 1993.

¹⁴ Examples of this approach are provided in Gilbertus Universalis, *Glossa ordinaria*, notably pp. 127–47, with a tentative *stemma codicum* on p. 148; and Kostoff-Käard 2015.

- (d) Recently I have suggested that the text of a glossed book may be edited not by employing a recensionist approach, i.e. by reconstructing a hypothetical archetypal version of the text based on a review of conjunctive and separative errors in the manuscripts,¹⁵ but rather by charting variations in the body of glosses displayed by the manuscripts, thus aiming at recreating what I call a ‘structural’ version of the text where a standardized set of glosses is uncovered (if such a thing is possible) and a manuscript displaying a set as close as possible to this is found and edited.¹⁶

Though the suggestions above may or may not work when applied to parts of the Gloss that display fairly homogenous textual traditions, the question remains: is an edition of the Gloss desirable and, if so, in what version or shape should it be edited? I think that editions of the books of the Gloss are indeed desirable, but, I would argue, the focus on manuscripts, recensions and layout is misdirected. What is interesting – and fundamentally so – with the Gloss is the use medieval scholars made of it in their theological teaching. Therefore, I think that the Gloss should not necessarily be edited alone but as a member of a long tradition of teaching, stretching from before Anselm of Laon and through Peter Lombard, Peter Comestor, Stephen Langton to Hugh of St-Cher and his early 13th-century team of Dominicans in Paris.

The Gloss on Lamentations and Ecclesiastes has already been mentioned; the Gloss on John is another example where the selection of glosses varied very little over time and from manuscript to manuscript. Any such classification, however, falls short when encountering a tradition such as that of the Gloss on the Gospel of Matthew. From the earliest time of its manuscript existence, this part of the Gloss is found in such a bewildering array of versions that it is questionable if it may even be regarded as one single text; *prima facie*, the versions seem as many as there are manuscripts: *quot codices, tot glossae*. Differences and accre-

¹⁵ A recent, lucid, and not entirely approving account of the recensionist or ‘Lachmannian’ editorial method is Tarrant 2016.

¹⁶ Andrée 2016a, pp. 10–18.

tions seem to be the rule. A closer look at the glossed Matthew manuscripts, however, will show that this is not entirely true, and that, despite ostensible variation among glosses, particularly the prefaces, there is still an identifiable core common to most manuscripts, especially after the text was established as a school-book by the mid-12th century. As I will argue in this paper, the variety observed in the early manuscripts originates in the oral origin of the teaching that precedes and lies behind most of the books of the Gloss. I will return to the Matthew Gloss presently; first, by way of comparison, I will look at a more manageable Gloss tradition.

Taking its departure in my previous work on establishing a non-recensionist approach to edit the Gloss on the Gospel of John, this paper will first review the conclusions of this study; then explore the *status quaestionis* of the editing of the Gloss on the Gospel of Matthew, reaching the conclusion that any recensionist or, indeed, ‘structural’ approach (which is the term I used for my suggested John Gloss edition – see above) is utterly out of the question for the Matthew Gloss; finally to suggest an alternative approach which involves using the unpublished lecture notes of Peter Comestor to help edit a version of the Matthew Gloss as it was used at a specific time and place, and by a specific teacher. I will conclude the paper with some remarks on the further implications of this study.

1. *The Gloss on the Gospel of John*

The reason for choosing the John Gloss is that I have recently done work on it for the *Ars edendi* casebook;¹⁷ I will briefly recapitulate its argument here. For this study, I picked nine manuscripts, eclectically chosen from the list of two hundred or so surviving copies of the John Gloss.¹⁸ Given their origins, ages and provenances these manuscripts may be taken as representative of different stages of the textual tradition of this part of the Gloss, that is to say, as representative as any selection of manuscripts may be.

¹⁷ Andrée 2016a: see note 11 above.

¹⁸ For a list of manuscripts of the John Gloss, see Andrée 2008, pp. 317–33.

TABLE 1.
Manuscripts of the Glossed John

L	Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 78 (<i>orig.</i> Laon, 1120s, <i>prov.</i> Saint-Vincent)
O	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell 1 (<i>orig.</i> Canterbury, s. XII ^{med} , <i>prov.</i> St Augustine's)
N	Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 75 (<i>orig. and prov.</i> Saint-Amand, s. XII ^{med})
C	Cambridge, Trinity College, B.1.36 (<i>orig.</i> Paris, c. 1160, <i>prov.</i> Buildwas Abbey)
V	Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 79 (<i>orig. and prov.</i> Saint-Amand, s. XII ²)
K	Cologne, Dombibliothek, Codex 23 (<i>orig.</i> northern France, s. XII ²)
A	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D 1 7 (SC 2629) (<i>orig.</i> France, s. XIII ^{inc} , <i>prov.</i> Exeter)
B	London, British Library, Royal 4 C I (<i>orig.</i> England, s. XIII ¹ , <i>prov.</i> Canterbury)
E	London, British Library, Royal 3 E VI (<i>orig.</i> England, s. XIII ² , <i>prov.</i> Jervaulx)

The only manuscript that differs in substantial ways from the other eight is L, the very oldest copy of the John Gloss, with a provenance if not an origin in the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Vincent at Laon itself, located a stone's throw from the cathedral and the teaching of Anselm and the other Laon masters. It was to Saint-Vincent that the cathedral school masters and their students donated their books when they retired, presumably to serve the future education both of the abbey and cathedral schools. Although contemporary, i.e. 12th-century, figures of around 11,000 volumes surely are exaggerated, the medieval library of Saint-Vincent was unusually rich in books: 1,100 volumes is a more likely figure (though the inventory of c. 1450 made by Dom Wiard lists only 269 articles for a total of 257 works).¹⁹ The library was dissolved during the Revolution and the Abbey blown to pieces; a relief on the tympanum frieze of the still-standing but ruined Abbot's house gives an indication of what the monastery looked like prior to the 18th century.

¹⁹ On the library facilities of Laon in the 12th century, see *Anselmi Laudunensis Glosae super Iohannem*, pp. XLII–XLIV, and the literature referenced there.

The John Gloss is usually preceded in the manuscripts by a number of prefaces or prefatory glosses, including the pseudo-Hieronymian *accessus* to the Fourth Gospel, *Hic est Iohannes*,²⁰ and a possibly Laon-crafted preface, *Omnibus diuinae scripturae paginis*, which Peter Comestor erroneously attributed to Augustine.²¹ The following table lists these prefaces by their opening words, also indicating which manuscripts from the list above contain the prefaces. Some of these prefaces are quite long, such as the *Omnibus diuinae scripturae paginis*, others very short, such as *Iohannes interpretatur*; sometimes they are found written as the main text, such as is often the case with *Hic est Iohannes*, sometimes they are written in the margins surrounding the main text, such as *Omnibus diuinae scripturae*. Nothing is implied in the list of the length of the prefaces or their position in the manuscripts. The sign ‘+’ before the manuscript siglum means that the manuscript contains this gloss; the abbreviation ‘def.’ (*deficit/defecerunt*) does not imply that the manuscript(s) following it omit(s) an archetypal or original gloss, only that this gloss is not found in this or these manuscript(s).

TABLE 2.
Prefatory Glosses in the John Gloss Manuscripts

Iohannes euangelista et apostolus [+ L; def. cett.]
Hic est Iohannes [+ O N K C A B E; def. L V]
Omnibus diuinae scripturae paginis [+ O N K V C A B E; def. L]
In principio erat uerbum etc. Contra eos qui [+ O N K V C A B E; def. L]
Nuptiarum uinum etc. Vinum aliud est nuptiale [+ K B E; def. cett.]
Iohannes interpretatur [+ O N K V C A B E; def. L]
A temptationibus Christi [+ K E; def. cett.]
Quod erat ipse [+ K; def. cett.]

²⁰ The so-called ‘Monarchian’ prologue to John’s Gospel. See Berger 1902, p. 59. See also Peter Comestor’s lectures on the glossed John (Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 1024, fol. 216^{va}): *HIC EST IOHANNES. Premittit Iheronimus huic operi prologum ad sequentis operis commendationem*.

²¹ Comestor calls this *introitus Augustini* in his lecture notes on the Fourth Gospel. Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 1024, fol. 216^{va}: *Nota quod Augustinus, qui precipue exposuit Iohannem, fecit introitum, qui sic incipit: OMNIBVS DIVINE SCRIPTVRE PAGINIS*. For an analysis of this prologue see Clark 2014. For Comestor’s John lectures, see Andrée 2016b.

As indicated by the list, eight prefaces circulate in the tradition; only L omits seven of them, replacing them instead with a preface that no other manuscript displays, *Iohannes euangelista et apostolus*. With the curious exception of V, which omits *Hic est Iohannes*, all other manuscripts have *Hic est Iohannes*, *Omnibus diuinae scripturae*, *Contra eos qui*, and *Iohannes interpretatur*, which turn out to be the four standard prefaces of the John Gloss tradition. Though later manuscripts add a fifth preface, *Vinum aliud est nuptiale*, an addition that seems to date from around the beginning of the 13th century, and individual manuscripts or groups of manuscripts add one or two other stray prefaces, on the whole there is consistency. The same may be inferred about the glosses – marginal and interlinear – on the opening lines of John’s Gospel. There is a core of ‘standard’ glosses shared by most manuscripts to which, as in the case of the prefaces discussed above, later copies add a few interlinear glosses.²²

Based on these soundings – admittedly limited – a representative, or ‘structural’, edition of the John Gloss could be prepared, eclectically gathering all the glosses judged to belong to the ‘standard’ version in the preceding analysis. Accretions and variants could either be printed in appendix or, as in the example in Appendix A, in the text or distinguished by the relevant manuscript sigla. How best to paraphrase in print the distinctive format of the glossed manuscripts is another question that must be resolved by the editor. Appendix A presents an eclectic ‘edition’ of the biblical text and all glosses, first interlinear and then marginal, on Ioh. 1. 1, compiled from the nine manuscripts in the table above. The interlinear glosses are keyed to the biblical lemma by the letters A to E, printed in small capitals; the five marginal glosses pertaining to Ioh. 1. 1 are numbered 1 to 5 for ease of reference.

2. *The Gloss on the Gospel of Matthew*

The Gloss on the Gospel of Matthew, on the other hand, is an entirely different creature. For this essay, I started out using the

²² See Andrée 2016a, p. 16.

same methodology that I used for the Gloss on the Gospel of John, transcribing the prefaces and glosses on the first verses of the first chapter of the First Gospel from an eclectically-chosen number of manuscripts. This time I decided to limit my scrutiny to the 12th century because it was at this time that most variation occurred, and it is the 12th-century version of the Matthew Gloss of which I am most interested in gaining closer knowledge. The following list comprises nine manuscripts that appear to contain the Matthew Gloss, as well as their origin, provenance and approximate date (based on palaeographical grounds).

TABLE 3.
Manuscripts of the Glossed Matthew

G	Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, 37 (<i>orig. and prov.</i> Grande-Chartreuse, <i>c.</i> 1150)
La	Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 73 (<i>orig.</i> Laon, before 1140, <i>prov.</i> Saint-Vincent)
Lb	Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 74 (<i>orig.</i> Laon, before 1140, <i>prov.</i> Saint-Vincent)
M	Montpellier, Bibliothèque de l'école de médecine, H 155 (<i>orig.</i> Paris or Chartres, 1140–1150, <i>prov.</i> Clairvaux (one of Prince Henry's books))
R	Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 88 (<i>orig.</i> uncertain Laon origin, before 1140, <i>prov.</i> Jumièges)
Tr	Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 1040 (<i>orig.</i> Laon or Champagne, <i>c.</i> 1140–1150, <i>prov.</i> Clairvaux)
Ts	Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, 117 (<i>orig.</i> Chartres, 1140–1145, <i>prov.</i> Tours, Saint-Paul de Cormery)
Va	Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 73 (<i>orig. and prov.</i> Saint-Amand, 1140–1150)
Vb	Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 75 (<i>orig. and prov.</i> Saint-Amand, 1140–1150)

Together these nine manuscripts yield no less than 44 prefatory glosses. As in the case of the John Gloss above, the table below lists the prefatory glosses – some quite long, others very short – by their opening words. As above, nothing is implied of their respective length or position in the manuscripts.

TABLE 4.
Prefatory Glosses in the Matthew Gloss Manuscripts

Matheus ex iudea sicut in ordine primus [+ G La Lb M R Tr Ts Va ; def. Vb]
Omnia in populo hebreo gesta prophetia futurorum erant [+ Lb ; def. cett.]
Fingunt iudei regem ex femore iuda [+ Lb Vb ; def. cett.]
Iuda te laudabunt fratres tui. Hoc de iuda potest accipi [+ Lb Vb ; def. cett.]
Germen de greco magis uirgultum [+ Lb Vb ; def. cett.]
Accubans dormiui sicut leo [+ Lb Vb ; def. cett.]
Ita christus in morte dormiuit sed die tertia surrexit [+ Lb Vb ; def. cett.]
Qui suscitabit eum? Miratur immortalem [+ Lb Vb ; def. cett.]
Sugillo a sugo tractum a lauinis id est strangulo [+ Vb ; def. cett.]
Secularis scientia [+ Vb ; def. cett.]
Augustinus. Simon ante uocabatur Petrus [+ Lb ; def. cett.]
Nomen libri euangelium grece bonum nuntium latine [+ Tr ; def. cett.]
Liber genesis ex principio suo nominatur [+ Tr ; def. cett.]
Iosephus dicit quod quidam sacerdos in aegypto [+ Tr ; def. cett.]
In his patribus christus prefigurabatur [+ Tr ; def. cett.]
Quia in his tribus patribus [+ Tr ; def. cett.]
Moraliter. In his patribus significantur uirtutes [+ Tr ; def. cett.]
Ysaac christum etiam suo nomine exprimit [+ Tr ; def. cett.]
Iacob christum prefigurat [+ Tr ; def. cett.]
Isti septem spiritus in septem filiis iob [+ Tr ; def. cett.]
Nullus preter christum potuit librum aperire [+ Tr ; def. cett.]
Hec causa matheum scribere compulit [+ Tr ; def. cett.]
Matheus euangelista factus non solum sermone [+ Tr ; def. cett.]
Veritas doctrine auctores commendat non ipsi ueritatem [+ Tr ; def. cett.]
Non disputatio ueritate [+ Tr ; def. cett.]
Demonstrant sancti doctores Iudas habuit tres filios [+ Tr ; def. cett.]
Cum multi euangelia scripsisse legamus [+ Tr Vb ; def. cett.]
Vnde matheus ab exordio sue narrationis [+ G La Lb M R Ts Vb ; def. Tr Va]
Marcus uero qui uocem inducit [+ G La Lb M R Ts Va Vb ; def. Tr]
Lucas uero quoniam a sacerdotio [+ G La Lb M R Ts Va Vb ; def. Tr]
Iohannes ultimus diuinam christi generationem [+ G La Lb M R Ts Va Vb ; def. Tr]
Vnde ad instruendam fidem [+ G La Lb M R Ts Va Vb ; def. Tr]

Omnium autem communis intentio est [+ G La Lb M R Ts Va Vb ; def. Tr]
Tres thesserescedecades in generatione christi [+ G La Lb M R Ts Va Vb ; def. Tr]
Abraham namque interpretatur pater [+ G La Lb M R Ts Va Vb ; def. Tr]
Isaac risus uel gaudium [+ G La Lb M Ts Va Vb ; def. R Tr]
Matheus in hac uita [+ R Va Vb ; def. G La Lb M Ts Tr]
Nota consuetudinem non esse scripturarum [+ R ; def. cett.]
Quod matheus christi generationem narrat [+ Lb Va Vb ; def. cett.]
Sciendum euangelium VII principalibus bonis dictum [+ G Lb ; def. cett.]
Scriptis autem matheus euangelium suum [+ R ; def. cett.]
Matheus apostolus cum primum predicasset [+ G La Lb M R Ts Va Vb ; def. Tr]
Quasi dicit. Generatio ade [+ Va ; def. cett.]

It should be noted that, as with the John Gloss, some of the above-listed prefaces are shared among most manuscripts; some are unique to single manuscripts or groups of manuscripts (**Tr**, for instance, adds a set of prefatory glosses quite its own; **Lb** and **Vb** share a number of prefaces as against the rest of the manuscripts, etc.). Thirteen prefaces are shared among the majority of the manuscripts:

TABLE 5.
Shared Matthew Prefaces

Matheus ex iudea sicut in ordine primus
Cum multi euangelia scripsisse legamus
Vnde matheus ab exordio sue narrationis
Marcus uero qui uocem inducit
Lucas uero quoniam a sacerdotio
Iohannes ultimus diuinam christi generationem
Vnde ad instruendam fidem
Omnium autem communis intentio est
Tres thesserescedecades in generatione christi
Abraham namque interpretatur pater
Isaac risus uel gaudium
Matheus in hac uita
Matheus apostolus cum primum predicasset

Counting the interlinear and marginal glosses gives basically the same impression: some glosses are unique for individual manuscripts or groups of manuscripts, but most manuscripts share a core of glosses. There is an interesting twist, however: looking over the list of prefatory glosses and at the same time keeping an eye on the dates of the manuscripts will make clear that some glosses that are commonly omitted in the older manuscripts are shared by the more recent copies. From Appendix B, where is found an eclectic 'edition' of all glosses on Matth. 1. 1, first interlinear and then marginal, compiled from the nine manuscripts in the table above, it will appear that, for example, the interlinear gloss 1A and the marginal glosses 1 through 6 (with the odd interference of **R** in gloss 2) are shared by manuscripts **M** and **Tr**; whereas the same manuscripts, **M** and **Tr** lack, again in unison, the glosses 8 and 9. Through the contents of these glosses, 1 through 6, **M** and **Tr** provide extended versions of glosses 8 and 9, which they both omit: gloss 8 explains the *consuetudo hebreorum* to name books after their opening words, a topic developed in **M** and **Tr** in gloss 5, *Hebrei uoluminibus*; the contents of gloss 9, on the differences in the narrative of Luke and Matthew, are expanded in **M** and **Tr** in no less than three glosses: 4a, 4b, and 5a. It may, therefore, safely be assumed that the later tradition expands and replaces glosses featured by the earlier manuscripts, in the process also streamlining some of the contents of the Matthew Gloss.

Furthermore, looking briefly at the dates of the manuscripts, we see that in the oldest copies, **R** for example, many glosses – both individual and belonging to the 'standard' set – have been added by one or more recent hands to an already-existing body of glosses. The earlier manuscripts, therefore, display a certain creativeness or unfinished-ness, work-in-progress-ness, or spontaneity that is absent from later copies, which usually appear as more standardized or definite products.²³ Of course, this could be entirely coincidental, and the later, less annotated manuscripts having an altogether different use than the earlier ones. I think it more likely, however, given the nature of the development of the

²³ **M** is an excellent example of this later 'standard' version, belonging to the set of glossed books that were made for Henry, King Louis VII's brother, and donated to the Abbey of Clairvaux upon the former's entrance there.

Gloss, that the idiosyncratic appearance of the earlier manuscripts is linked in some way to the fact that they were used in the oral teaching of the biblical books they explain.

The contents of the manuscripts, therefore, seem to change over time and place, from manuscript to manuscript, with the same material appearing and disappearing from copy to copy, almost as if each scribe or scribes were able to draw material from an ideal version of the Matthew Gloss existing in as it were an extraterrestrial cloud.

Further knowledge of the texts of the Matthew glosses may be gleaned from a scrutiny of the texts and commentaries that were used to put together the Matthew Gloss. Indeed, this is a complicated matter whose knots are far from untied. A tentative *stemma textuum* presented here may perhaps better clarify the state of affairs. The solid lines indicate direct influence of one text on another; dotted lines signal similarities in two texts, but that the precise relationship between them is unclear.



There are four known commentaries associated with Anselm and the school of Laon, either by manuscript ascriptions or other evidence; though the commentaries are clearly distinct, in one way or another they are all mutually related – they all share material pertinent to the exegesis of Matthew’s Gospel – and they all play a role in the creation of the Gloss on the First Gospel.²⁴ First there

²⁴ A preliminary study of the relationship between these texts is found in Andr  e 2015.

is the text known after its incipit as *Dominus ac redemptor*, printed in the *Patrologia Latina* (162, col. 1227–1500)²⁵ under the title *Enarrationes in Matthaeum*,²⁶ and attributed, on loose grounds, to Anselm of Laon; in fact, only two of the over 40 surviving witnesses attribute this text to Anselm;²⁷ five assign it instead to Geoffrey Babion,²⁸ and perhaps he is the more likely author, the commentary evidently being written for a monastic audience.

As may be gleaned from the direction of the arrows in the diagram above, the *Dominus ac redemptor* is closely related to another commentary text, *Euangelium grece latine bonum nuntium*, which is extant in two, perhaps three manuscripts, and attributed, in one of them, to Anselm *de monte Leonis*, archbishop of Reims.²⁹ The designation *de monte Leonis* could easily be explained as a scribal mistake for *de monte Lauduni*, and thus be taken as referring to Anselm of Laon; the ascription to him of the archbishopric of Reims is more difficult to reconcile with historical evidence; perhaps it reflects an unresolved election, hitherto unknown to us?³⁰ As this text contains everything word-for-word in the *Dominus ac redemptor*, the *Euangelium grece* is either an expansion of this commentary, or the *Dominus ac redemptor* is an abbreviation of the *Euangelium grece*. The state of research is too premature to say anything with certainty in this regard.

The *Dominus ac redemptor*, furthermore, may be a redaction of a third commentary, *Cum post ascensionem*, since it treats basically the same themes as the *Cum post* but either abbreviates them

²⁵ Stegmüller 1950–1980, no. 2604, lists 42 copies; to these may be added Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 14937; Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 215; Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 107; and Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 227.

²⁶ On this text, see Smalley 1985 (repr. from *RTAM*, 45 (1978), pp. 1–36 (at p. 20)).

²⁷ Attributed to Anselm in Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 626, fol. 2^r (*Anselmus super Mattheum*), and Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 70, fol. 1^r (*Secundum lectionem magistri Anselmi* [s. lin.]. *Glosae super Mattheum. Dominus ac redemptor* ...).

²⁸ This is also the opinion of Peter Comestor who, in his Matthew lectures, refers to the work as ‘glos[e] ... magistri Gaufridi Babionis, que sollempnes sunt et autentice’. Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 1024, fol. 3^{va}.

²⁹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2491, fol. 1^r (*Glose magistri Anselmi de Monte Leonis et Remensis archiepiscopi super Mattheum*).

³⁰ As suggested by Père Bernard Merlette in a private communication.

or expands on them. The *Cum post ascensionem* is extant in four or perhaps five manuscripts, one of which was partly copied by Orderic Vitalis sometime before his death in 1142.³¹ As may be gleaned from its *titulus* in the manuscript Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, 26, this text was assigned to Anselm of Laon: *Incipit expositio ex diuersis auctoribus a domno anselmo laudunensi phylosopho exquisitim collecta super euangelium domini nostri iesu christi secundum matheum*.³² The *Cum post* contains exegesis borrowed from Paschasius Radbertus' commentary on Matthew. It also shares important themes with the 4th commentary, the *Nomen libri euangelium*, which is a radical abbreviation of Radbertus' much longer commentary on Matthew, and transmitted, wholly or partially, in some fifteen manuscripts (the *Nomen libri* is the only commentary that entirely lacks attribution in the manuscripts, but it is often found in the manuscripts among other Laon material, sentences, glosses and commentaries).³³ Though the direction of the influence between these two commentaries, *Cum post* and *Nomen libri*, is still not known, it is clear that both texts were involved in the creation of the Gloss.³⁴

As we have seen, the Gloss on Matthew existed in the 12th century in a variety of versions – based on my preliminary manuscript soundings, in combination with a study of the sources of

³¹ The preface of *Cum post* was printed by Glunz 1933, pp. 317–22. The manuscripts are: Alençon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 26 (Orderic Vitalis's hand); London, British Library, Royal 4 A XVI; Oxford, St John's College, 111; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 87.

³² Alençon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 26, fol. 91^r. For a study of the text, see Ballentyne 1986, 19–57.

³³ The *Nomen libri* is incomplete in all known manuscript witnesses (e.g. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 14), reaching as far as Matthew 6. 14, and the words, *sine meritis ad beatitudinem peruenitur*. Smalley 1985, pp. 12–14, believed that she had found a full version of *Nomen libri* in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16974, fols 5^r–79^r. She makes the claim that this 'complete' version of *Nomen libri* was used to furnish later copies of the Gloss on Matthew with text material. That some version of the *Nomen libri* was used by a redactor of the Gloss on Matthew is true; that he used Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16974 is not, because this manuscript is, in fact, nothing but a copy of the Matthew Gloss in its later version. Furthermore, on closer inspection this manuscript does not even contain the extended *Nomen libri* gloss found in some glossed Matthew manuscripts. It is clear from this that Smalley did not see this manuscript and that Stegmüller must have had his information confused.

³⁴ As will be evident from the notes to textual appendix B.

individual glosses in these manuscripts, at least four more or less distinct versions may be distinguished. First there is a 'primitive' version, using as its core mostly extracts from the Church Fathers and the Carolingian commentators, Rabanus Maurus in particular, but also much other material that I have been unable as yet to identify. Representative of this stage is the manuscript **Va** in the list above (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 73), which contains certain prefaces and glosses not displayed by the later versions. An 'intermediary' version is represented by the manuscript **Ts** (Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, 117), which retains the core of the primitive version but omits some of the extra material displayed by, for instance **Va**.

This core was expanded into what I refer to as the 'later' version, the appearance of which seems to coincide in time with the Gloss becoming the focus of sustained lectures in the Paris schools. The later versions expand the older 'core' with material from, amongst other sources, the *Nomen libri* and the *Cum post ascensionem*. Though some scholars have suggested that these commentaries were instead compiled using the Gloss as a source,³⁵ this is rather unlikely given, for example, the early date of the *Cum post* (before 1142 as indicated by the Alençon manuscript being partially penned by Orderic Vitalis); the later version of the Matthew Gloss was most likely not in circulation at this time. The manuscript **M** is representative of the later version, which contains a full and, seemingly, 'standardized', set of prefaces and glosses. This later version was again expanded some time beyond the 13th century to appear in the shape it has in the earliest printed edition, by Adolph Rusch of Strasbourg in 1480/1481.³⁶

With these facts in mind concerning the sources of the Matthew Gloss, returning now to the discussion of the various glosses that make up the Matthew Gloss, the question is begged what version we ought to strive to recreate in an edition. Even if a set of glosses is shared among a number of manuscripts, are these sets representative? And if they are, what are they representative of? What is it that we are trying to recreate? Is it the earliest version

³⁵ See Van den Eynde 1959.

³⁶ Reprinted as Adolf Rusch, *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria*.

of the Matthew Gloss? This seems to be the most varied and slippery and the least easy to capture. Is it rather the later version we would like to edit, which we have seen seems to stabilize? But does it really stabilize? And if so, how are we to know? How could an editor bring order to this *embarras des gloses*? How could ever any version of this text be critically edited?

If not a full answer, at least a clue – or a set of clues – may be had if one were to ask the masters who used the Matthew Gloss as a basis for their teaching.

3. *Peter Comestor's Lectures on the Glossed Matthew*

Evidence is found of usage of the Gloss at Paris at least by the 1130s when Peter Lombard employed it as the basis for his two famous commentaries, his *Commentaria* on the Psalms and the *Collectanea* on the Pauline Epistles, collectively known as the *Magna glosatura*.³⁷ In addition to these two well-known works, which presumably were polished versions of lecture series, there is recently-discovered evidence that the Lombard, as has for a long time been suspected, also lectured on other parts of the Bible.³⁸ In fact, notes from his lectures on most of the Old Testament are extant, lectures that he probably held in the 1150s, after he had finished the courses that eventually led to the creation of the *Sentences*.³⁹ For these Old Testament lectures he used the Gloss. Whereas in the earlier lectures, on the Psalms and Pauline Epistles, the Lombard was meticulous in his treatment of the Gloss, such that every word found in the Gloss is also found in Lombard's commentaries,⁴⁰ the later lectures employed it more as a reference tool, something with which the master may have compared his

³⁷ Peter Lombard, *Collectanea in omnes d. Pauli apostoli epistolas*; Peter Lombard, *Commentaria in Psalmos*.

³⁸ Clark 2014; Clark 2017; the consequences of this discovery for our understanding of biblical theology in the 12th century are discussed in Andrée & Clark forthcoming.

³⁹ Clark 2017.

⁴⁰ The impression is that if Lombard's commentaries ever originated in oral lectures, these must have been heavily redacted before reaching us in the shape they have.

theological discussions, or where he could find confirmation and support of his teachings.⁴¹

Though Lombard in his lectures made frequent and heavy use of the Gloss, his student, another Peter, Peter of Troyes or Peter Comestor, used the Gloss even more explicitly for his own biblical lectures. This Peter, ‘the Eater’, studied with Lombard in the 1150s and soon began to teach theology himself in the Paris schools, where he continued to teach until his retirement in the late 1170s. The crowning achievement of Comestor’s teaching career was the *Historia scholastica*, a comprehensive theological approach to the literal level of scriptural interpretation, a detailed companion to biblical salvation history, that became a textbook for the teaching of theology in the schools as much as Peter Lombard’s *Sentences*.⁴²

The *Historia* saw its origin in Comestor’s classroom experience, teaching the Bible to theology students for over two decades. Like his teacher, the Lombard, before him, also Comestor used the Gloss; from what he perceived as its deficiencies sprang the *Historia scholastica*, a process that has been researched and recently described by Mark Clark.⁴³ In addition to his usage of the Gloss for the *Historia scholastica*, the ways Comestor used the Gloss in his teaching may be gleaned from the copious notes, or *reportationes*,⁴⁴ that survive from Comestor’s classroom. These notes are comprehensive, and give evidence of lecture courses of great sophistication, which systematically expounds each Gospel and its Gloss, addressing a wide swath of aspects ranging from literary and historical details to matters of doctrine and theology. Given the immense value they have for our understanding of 12th-century classroom teaching – they literally thrust us straight

⁴¹ See Andrée forthcoming 2018.

⁴² For the composition and *fortuna* of Comestor’s *magnum opus*, see now Clark 2015.

⁴³ See Clark 2015, especially chapter two, ‘Lessons Learned in the Classroom: Comestor’s Lectures on the Glossed Gospels’, pp. 52–83, and chapter three, ‘From the Gloss to the History’, pp. 84–108.

⁴⁴ These notes are not quite the schoolroom *reportationes* of the thirteenth century, but rather clean-written copies of notes that were taken at the time of Comestor’s lectures.

into Comestor's schoolroom – it is surprising that they have hardly been studied before.⁴⁵

In these lectures, Comestor comments as much on the Gloss as on the text of the Gospels. Indeed, obviously not satisfied with using the Gloss from start to finish, he constantly rearranges it and restructures it for the benefit of his students, explaining to them how best to use it and understand it alongside its relevance to the biblical lemma. This may in fact have been the purpose of the Gloss, to be used as a classroom tool for further theological extrapolation by the masters who were using it to teach. In this process Comestor reads out to his audience the opening words of the glosses he is commenting on or rearranging, expecting his students to follow along (which means that they ought to have had copies of the Gloss in front of them); alternatively, he read out the entirety of the glosses he was commenting on, the scribes of the manuscripts abbreviating them to lemmata consisting of only a few words. Whatever the case of his actual procedure, this way of quoting substantially from the Gloss also means that the master reveals quite clearly to us what version of the Gloss he was using. Thus, it is to Comestor's lectures on the glossed Matthew we now turn.

Comestor's lectures on the glossed Matthew are extant in some twenty manuscripts, most of them copied in the late 12th or early 13th century. I use two manuscripts for this study: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 620 (late 12th century; at Fontenay in the 15th century) and Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 1024 (early 13th century; from the library of Clairvaux).

The master opens his lecture course with a preface, beginning '*Fecit Deus duo luminaria magna ...* [Gen. 1. 14 and 16] *Per firmamentum celi satis eleganter sacra scriptura intelligitur*', unrelated to the Gloss but serving as an *accessus* to the study of Scripture in general, as well as to the Gospels, Matthew's Gospel in particular. The preface is rounded off with considerations of the *materia*, *intentio*, and *modus agendi* of the first evangelist. Though it is not part of the present discussion, it is likely that this preface, along-

⁴⁵ Other than the studies mentioned by Clark & Andrée, and of Smalley before them, only Gilbert Dahan and Emmanuel Bain have written on Comestor's Gospel glosses: Dahan 2009, Dahan & Bain 2013, Dahan & Bain 2015.

side the prefaces to Comestor's remaining three Gospel lectures, was a product of Comestor's master, Peter Lombard, and issuing from his teaching of the Gospels in the Paris cathedral school.⁴⁶ Indeed, the Matthew preface is very similar in contents and style to that found at the opening of the John lectures.

I shall illustrate Comestor's progress through Matthew's Gospel and its gloss using the Montpellier manuscript we have already encountered (**M** in the list above).⁴⁷ After the preface, *Fecit Deus duo luminaria*, mentioned above, Comestor proceeds to comment on the prologue *Matheus ex Iudea* (a), which as we saw above is one of the prologues normally found at the opening of the glossed Gospel of Matthew. According to Comestor this prologue was written by Jerome, and shows who wrote the Gospel and where and in what sequence and for what purpose.⁴⁸ This prologue is normally accorded great reverence in the glossed manuscripts, as it is found occupying the central column of the page, which is normally reserved for the Bible text. Comestor reviews this prologue in some detail, explaining words, supplying explanatory phrases and passages, adding information for about four pages in my transcription, before moving on to the first marginal gloss, *Matheus euangelista cum primum* (b), usually found wrapped around the previous prologue (this is idiosyncratically absent from **M**, perhaps intended to have been copied in the space to the left of the central column that was left blank; the right-hand column contains another standard preface, *Cum multi scripsisse*). Comestor describes *Matheus euangelista* as a 'gloss', also authored by Jerome and showing why Matthew wrote his Gospel and why only four Gospels are accepted in the Church.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Clark has convincingly demonstrated that this is the case with the preface to Comestor's lectures on the glossed John, beginning, *Omnia poma noua et uetera*: Clark 2014.

⁴⁷ The relevant passages from Comestor's lectures are printed in Appendix C and, for the convenience of the reader, numbered a through f.

⁴⁸ Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 1024, fol. 1^{vb}: *MATHEVS EX IVDEA et cetera. Euangelio Mathei premittit Ieronimus proemium, et hec est continentia proemii. Ostendit quis scripserit euangelium et ubi et quo ordine et qua utilitate.*

⁴⁹ Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 1024, fol. 2^{rb}: *Premittit Ieronimus glosam in qua ostendit quare Matheus scripsit euangelium et quare tantum euangelia recepta sunt in ecclesia [...] Primo ostenditur quare scripsit euangelium et ponit duplicem causam. Scripsit enim ad memoriam et ad robur.* The last sentence echoes

Before beginning to parse this gloss, Comestor sheds some valuable light on his procedure in lecturing. Tersely he explains that the reason that this gloss is read after the *proemium* (which is what he calls the prologue *Matheus ex Iudea* mentioned above) rather than before it, is because the *proemium* is suitable for one lecture (*proemium sufficit uni lectioni*), but the ‘gloss’ would be too short.⁵⁰ Comestor then picks up the first words of the Gospel proper, *Liber generationis Iesu Christi* (c), and embarks on a lengthy explanation of these words and the glosses that concern them. He refers first to the glosses *plenior sensus* (Appendix B, marginal gloss no. 3), and *in principio* (no. 1), seeing that they treat of similar topics. Thereafter he takes his cue from the gloss *liber apotheca grece* (no. 2), explaining that the Gospel of Matthew is the cellar of the Holy Spirit, in which are placed the nourishments of the soul, because the Gospel is about the sacraments, about doctrine, and other things that are necessary for the soul in order for it to live spiritually.

Having treated in such fashion three marginal glosses, Comestor then returns to the biblical text, *Liber generationis* (d), taking care to explain this ‘name’ or ‘title’, as it were, and its origin, using information found in two longer marginal glosses, *hebrei uoluminibus* (no. 5) and *generationis singulariter* (no. 6). Comestor explains that Matthew chose the name for his Gospel, *Liber generationis*, following both Hebrew and Greek literary conventions,⁵¹ in so doing going beyond linguistic customs and showing the consonance between the two testaments. Comestor then returns to the lemma in order to explain first the word *Iesu* and then *Christi* (e), referring to an interlinear gloss, *id est salu-*

the framework Comestor applied to his reading of John’s Gospels and its gloss, through the classification of Gospel text and glosses as written either *ad munimentum* or *ad supplementum* with respect to the other evangelists. See Andrée 2016b, p. 217.

⁵⁰ Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 1024, fol. 2^b: *Nec alia ratione legitur proemium ante eam [scil. glosam] nisi quia premium sufficit uni lectioni, glosa autem non sufficeret.*

⁵¹ Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 1024, fol. 2^{va}–2^{vb}: *Vide quia liber iste a principio suo nomen sortitur. Liber namque generationis dicitur quia in principio de generatione Christi agitur. In denominatione autem libri Matheus et Hebreum et Grecum imitatur, quia et Hebrei et Greci a principiis consueuerunt libros suos denominare.* For a closer analysis of these glosses and Comestor’s interpretation, see Andrée 2017.

atoris non perditoris quod fuit Adam (1B), and then to its continuation: *Christus ipse est*. Returning again to the lemma, *Iesu Christi*, for another set of interpretations, Comestor refers to the marginal gloss *ut per regiam ... rector* (no. 4), a long and narrow gloss in the manuscript **M**.

The lecturer then takes leave of the 'title' of the book and proceeds to the words of the lemma which qualify it, *Filii David filii Abraham* (f), and which displays the condition for the Messiah to come, namely that he be born of both kingly and priestly stock. Comestor then quotes another gloss, *Matheus generationem* (no. 4a), before explaining the order of the names: why is David mentioned first, when Abraham is the more ancient? The gloss *ordo preposterus* (no. 7), whose contents were originally culled from Jerome's commentary on Matthew, assists him in this endeavour.⁵²

The lecture course continues in a similar way. Commenting on or merely mentioning the glosses, in addition to navigating the Gloss for his 12th-century students, Comestor also indicates for his twenty-first century readers what version of the Matthew Gloss he had at his fingertips and what it looked like. With the help of Comestor we may, in fact, single out the version, or a version of the Matthew Gloss that was used in the Paris schoolrooms in the mid-12th century, and select one or several corresponding manuscripts upon which to base an edition. For example, based on the evidence provided by Comestor and discussed in the previous pages, such a version included the prefaces *Matheus ex Iudea*, and *Matheus cum primum*, from the long list quoted above. Judging by our small sample, however, no manuscript on the list seems directly and completely to answer to this description, as no manuscript in our list carries only these two glosses: Comestor is not commenting on *Cum multi scripsisse*, for instance, the long gloss in **M** that surrounds *Matheus ex Iudea* and is followed by *Tres tesserecedecades* (which, by the way means 'three sets of fourteen', and refers to the number of names or generations in the *Liber generationis*). Could it be that Comestor ignored one or more prefaces in his lectures? It certainly seems so. This is probably because he was using the preface designed by his master, *Fecit Deus duo luminaria*, mentioned above, which partly overlaps with the contents of other prefaces.

⁵² Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei*, p. 7, lines 7–14.

4. *Conclusion*

A few conclusions may be drawn from this rather preliminary foray into the lush landscape of lectures that both gave rise to the biblical Gloss and issued from it. First of all, the many discrepancies among especially the early manuscripts of the Gloss, makes it clear that, at least in the 12th century, there was no such thing as the *Glossa 'ordinaria'*, if by 'ordinary' is meant a common text made up by a standard set of glosses; if, on the other hand, by 'ordinary' is meant a standard text that every master had to lecture on, the term may not be as misplaced, since it seems indeed that the books of the Gloss become the staple textbooks for lectures on the Bible well into the 13th century, alongside its companion, the *Historia scholastica*.

Second, if an edition of the Gloss is to be realized that resembles the text available to the masters using it as a teaching text, recourse should be had to the lectures of these masters for guidance among the sometimes bewildering array of glosses displayed by the 12th-century manuscripts as to what guise their version of the Gloss may have taken. Comestor in his Gospel lectures shows us quite clearly what version of the Gloss he was using; guided by Comestor's lectures an editor could pick one or more manuscripts answering to this description and edit the glossed book accordingly. Or even better, he or she would edit the Gloss alongside Comestor's explanation of it. Such would be a fruitful approach in the quest further to unravel the secrets of the Gloss and its use by the masters of the School of Paris to create theology in the 12th century.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Anselmi Laudunensis Glosae super Iohannem, ed. A. Andrée, Turnhout: Brepols, 2014 (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 267).

Gilbertus Universalis, *Glossa ordinaria in Lamentationes Ieremie prophete. Prothemata et Liber I*. A Critical Edition with an Introduction and a Translation, ed. A. Andrée, Stockholm: Almqvist & Amp, 2005 (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, 52).

- Glossa ordinaria in Canticum canticorum*, ed. M. Dove, Turnhout: Brepols, 1997 (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 170).
- Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei*, 1, 1, ed. D. Hurst & M. Adriaen, Turnhout: Brepols, 1969 (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 77).
- J. Kostoff-Käard (2015), 'The *Glossa Ordinaria* on Ecclesiastes: A Critical Edition with Introduction' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 2015).
- Peter Lombard, *Collectanea in omnes d. Pauli apostoli epistolas*, 1854 (Patrologia Latina, 191).
- Peter Lombard, *Commentaria in Psalmos*, 1854 (Patrologia Latina, 191).
- Adolf Rusch, *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria*. Facsimile reprint of the *editio princeps*: Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/1481, with introductions by K. Froehlich & M. T. Gibson, 4 vols, Turnhout: Brepols, 1992.

Secondary Literature

- A. Andrée (2008), 'The *Glossa ordinaria* on the Gospel of John: A Preliminary Survey of the Manuscripts with a Presentation of the Text and its Sources', in *Revue Bénédictine*, 118 (2008), pp. 109–34, 289–333.
- A. Andrée (2015), 'Le *Pater* (Matth. 6, 9–13 et Luc. 11, 2–4) dans l'exégèse de l'école de Laon: la *Glossa ordinaria* et autres commentaires', in F. Siri (ed.), *Le Pater noster au XII^e siècle: Lectures et usages*, Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 29–74.
- A. Andrée (2016a), 'Editing the Gloss (later *Glossa ordinaria*) on the Gospel of John: A Structural Approach', in E. Göransson & al. (eds), *The Arts of Editing Medieval Greek and Latin*, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, pp. 2–21.
- A. Andrée (2016b), 'Peter Comestor's Lectures on the *Glossa "ordinaria"* on the Gospel of John: The Bible and Theology in the Twelfth-Century Classroom', in *Traditio*, 71, pp. 203–34.
- A. Andrée (2017), '*Caue ne facias uim in tempore!* Peter Comestor and the Truth of History', in G. Guldentops & al. (eds), *Felici curiositate. Studies in Latin Literature and Textual Criticism from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century. In Honour of Rita Beyers*, Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 515–50.
- A. Andrée (2020), '*Sacra pagina*: Theology and the Bible from the School of Laon to the School of Paris', in C. Giraud (ed.), *A Companion to Twelfth-Century Schools*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, pp. 272–314.

- A. Andrée & M. J. Clark (forthcoming), *The School of Paris: The Bible and Theology in the Twelfth Century*.
- A. Ballentyne (1989), 'A Reassessment of the Exposition of the Gospel According to St Matthew in Manuscript Alençon 26', in *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 56, pp. 19–57.
- S. Berger (1902), *Les prefaces jointes aux livres de la Bible dans les manuscrits de Vulgate*, no. 236, Paris: Impr. nationale.
- M. J. Clark (2014), 'The Biblical Gloss, the Search for the Lombard's Glossed Bible, and the School of Paris', in *Mediaeval Studies*, 76, pp. 57–114.
- M. J. Clark (2015), *The Making of the Historia scholastica, 1150–1200*, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.
- M. J. Clark (2017), 'Peter Lombard, Stephen Langton, and the School of Paris: the Making of the Twelfth-Century Scholastic Biblical Tradition', in *Traditio*, 72, pp. 171–274.
- G. Dahan (2009), 'Une leçon biblique au XIIe siècle: Le commentaire de Pierre le Mangeur sur Matthieu 26, 26–29', in J.-P. Bordier (ed.), *Ancienne Loi, Nouvelle Loi: Recherches interdisciplinaires sur les textes classiques*, Nanterre: Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense, pp. 19–38.
- G. Dahan & E. Bain (2013), 'Le travail du maître dans le commentaire sur l'évangile de Matthieu', in G. Dahan (ed.), *Pierre le Mangeur ou Pierre de Troyes: maître du XII^e siècle*, Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 89–123.
- G. Dahan & E. Bain (2015), 'Pierre le Mangeur et le "Notre père"', in F. Siri (ed.), *Le Pater noster au XII^e siècle: Lectures et usages*, Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 113–55.
- D. Van den Eynde (1959), 'Autour des "Enarrationes in Evangelium S. Matthaei" attribuées à Geoffroi Babion', in *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 26, pp. 50–84.
- H. H. Glunz (1933), *History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- B. Merlette (1975), 'Écoles et bibliothèques à Laon, du déclin de l'antiquité au développement de l'université', in *Enseignement et vie culturelle (IX^e-XV^e siècle)*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, pp. 21–53.
- P. O'Hagan, 'Teaching the Tradition: Twelfth-Century Scholastic Commentaries on Paul's Letter to the Romans' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 2017).
- B. Smalley (1961), 'Les commentaires bibliques de l'époque romane: Glose ordinaire et gloses périmées', in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 4, pp. 15–22.

- B. Smalley (1983), *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Oxford: Blackwell (3rd ed., 1st ed. 1940).
- B. Smalley (1985), 'Some Gospel Commentaries of the Early Twelfth Century', in B. Smalley, *The Gospels in the Schools c. 1100–1280*, London: Bloomsbury (repr. from *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 45 (1978), pp. 1–36).
- L. Smith (2010), *The Glossa Ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary*, Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- L. Smith (2012), 'The Glossed Bible', in R. Marsden & E. A. Matter (eds), *New Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume 2: From 600 to 1450*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 363–79.
- F. Stegmüller (1950–1980), *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, 11 vols, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto 'Francisco Suárez'.
- P. Stirnemann (1994), 'Où ont été fabriqués les livres de la glose ordinaire dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle?', in F. Gasparri (ed.), *Le XII^e siècle: Mutations et renouveau en France dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle*, Paris: Le Léopard d'or, pp. 257–301.
- R. Tarrant (2016), *Texts, Editors, and Readers. Methods and Problems in Latin Textual Criticism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- M. Zier (1993), 'The Manuscript Tradition of the *Glossa Ordinaria* for Daniel and Hints at a Method for a Critical Edition', in *Scrip-torium*, 47, pp. 3–25.

Abstract

Extant in hundreds of medieval manuscripts and, sometimes, several versions and recensions, the biblical *Glossa*, later known as the '*Ordinaria*', a standard textbook of theology from the 12th century, continues to baffle editors of Medieval Latin texts, and historians of theology alike. What was the Gloss? How is an editor to choose among the many extant manuscripts? How is he or she to treat diverging versions? Is it at all possible, even desirable, to try and reconstruct an archetypal text of a largely anonymous, and probably collaborative work, that most likely originated in oral teaching? This article will skirt the questions of origin and, instead, look at how the 12th-century masters of the sacred page, Peter Lombard, Peter Comestor, and Stephen Langton, in their own teaching made use of the biblical Gloss, and how the extant evidence from their lectures may help modern editors to read, understand and, eventually, edit the idiosyncratic entity that is the biblical Gloss.

Appendix A.
The Gloss on the Gospel of Ioh. 1. 1

Bible text and interlinear glosses

A B C D E

1. In principio erat uerbum, et uerbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat uerbum

- A. in patre [+ **L C K B E; om. cett.**] || in patre qui est principium sine principio, filius qui est principium de principio; uel in principio omnium creaturarum uel temporum, quia ab ipso omnia habent principium existendi [+ **L O N K V C A B E**] || non in Maria incepit ut quidam uolebant [+ **C K A B E; om. cett.**] || ut idem in substantia etsi alius in persona, quod quidam negabant [+ **C K A B E; om. cett.**]
- B. uocat consubstantialem [+ **L O; om. cett.**] || filius; uerbum non prolatum sed semper apud eum manens, scilicet sapientia, qua uel de creandis omnia sciebat uel de se [+ **K B E; om. cett.**]
- C. coeternum [+ **L; om. cett.**] || ipsa persona apud aliam [+ **E; om. cett.**]
- D. ut alia persona (non tamen alia substantia) [+ **L O N K V C A B; om. E**]
- E. ipse filius erat Deus [+ **L O N K V C A B E**] || coomnipotentem [+ **L; om. cett.**] ||
ne dicatur esse cum Deo et non Deus [+ **C K B E; om. cett.**]

Marginal glosses

- 1 Alii euuangeliste describunt Christum natum ex tempore; Iohannes affirmat eum fuisse in patre, ut in principio non fuit ante pater quam filius. Ecce filius alia persona a patre, una substantia cum patre. [+ **L O N K V C A B E**]
- 2 'Sum' uerbum duplicem habet significationem. Aliquando enim temporales motus secundum analogiam aliorum uerborum declarat, aliquando substantiam uniuscuiusque rei, de qua predicatur, sine ullo temporali motu designat, ideo substantium uocatur. Tale est quod dicitur: *In principio erat uerbum*. Quasi: In patre subsistit filius. Non enim pro tempore, sed pro substantia ponitur 'erat'. [+ **O N K V C A B E; om. L**]
- 3 Quater ponitur 'erat' substantium uerbum, ut intelligas omnia tempora preuenisse coeternum patri uerbum. [+ **L O N K V C A B E**]

- 4 *Et uerbum erat.* Alii inter homines subito apparuisse, Iohannes dicit apud Deum semper fuisse. Alii uerum hominem, Iohannes uerum Deum asserit dicens: *Et Deus erat uerbum.* Alii hominem inter homines temporaliter conuersatum, Iohannes apud Deum manentem dicit: *Hoc erat in principio apud Deum.* Alii dicunt miracula que fecit homo in mundo, Iohannes omnia per ipsum facta testatur: *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt.* Ecce auctor bonorum: *Sine ipso factum est nichil.* Non est auctor malorum. [+ L O N K V C A B E]
- 5 Non est creatura per quem omnis creatura facta est. [+ L O N K V C A B E]

Appendix B.
The Gloss on the Gospel of Matth. 1. 1

Bible text and interlinear glosses

A B C D E

1. Liber generationis Iesu Christi filii Dauid filii Abraham

- A. incipit generationem ab ipso promissionis exordio [+ **G La Lb R Ts Va Vb; om. M Tr**]
- B. id est saluatoris non perditoris quod fuit Adam. Christus ipse est qui et Messias. Ideo hoc nomine retunditur iudeorum infidelitas qui Messiam, id est regem suum, ariolantur nondum uenisse. Hunc uero esse Christum consequenter prophetat euangelista, quoniam hic est qui de patriarcharum et regum stirpe progenitus⁵³ de uirgine mirabiliter est editus sicut eisdem fuerat ante promissus. [+ **G La Lb M R Tr Ts Vb; om. Va**]
- C. commendatio secundum deitatem [+ **G Lb; om. La M R Tr Ts Va Vb**] || filii Dauid secundum promissionem [+**Lb; om. cett.**]
- D. fides [+ **G Lb M R Tr Va Vb; om. La Ts**]
- E. ista nomina et secundum ethimologiam et secundum actus personarum aliquid in Christo significant [+ **G Lb; om. La M R Tr Ts Va Vb**]

Marginal glosses

- 1 In principio satis declarat se agere de humanitate cum incipiat a carnali generatione.⁵⁴
[+ **M Tr; om. G La Lb R Ts Va Vb**]
- 2 Liber apotheca est grece in qua omnis anima quod necesse habet inueniat. [+ **M R Tr; om. G La Lb Ts Va Vb**]
- 3 Plenior sensus esset hic est liber generationis sed hic mos est in multis ut uisio Ysaiae subaudis hec est.⁵⁵ [+ **M Tr; om. G La Lb R Ts**]

⁵³ retunditur ... progenitus] cf. *Cum post ascensionem*, fol. 92^{vb}: infidelitas Iudeorum retundatur. Hic est enim qui de patriarcharum et regum stirpe progenitus est.

⁵⁴ In principio ... generatione] *Cum post ascensionem*, fol. 92^{tb}: Hoc exordio satis ostendit se generationem Christi carnalem uelle narrare. Rabanus: Quo exordio suo satis ostendit generationem Christi secundum carnem, se suscepisse narrandam.

⁵⁵ Plenior ... hec est] *Nomen libri*, fol. 160^{tb}: Plenior sensus esset, Hic est liber generationis, sed hic mos est in multis ut uisio Ysaiae scilicet haec est.

- 4 *Iesu Christi* ut per regiam et sacerdotalem personam natura Dei et hominis monstraretur. Olim Iesus populi rector typice nunc essentialiter secundum quod Deus potens saluare Christus nomen officii, non naturae, quia unctus est in sacerdotem ad interpellandum pro nobis. Qui bene in terram promissionis inducit.⁵⁶ [+ **M Tr; om. G La Lb R Ts**]
- 4a Matheus generationem incipit ab exordio promissionis et etiam usque ad finem libri hoc agitur, ut qui ex hac generatione est natus deus et homo intelligatur [+ **M Tr Va; om. cett.**]; incipit generationem ab ipso promissionis exordio [+ **Va**]
- 4b Matheus ponit *genuit* et non *generauit*, forsitan ut ille cognosceretur in fine ostensus de quo dicitur: *Ego hodie genui te* [+ **M Tr; om. cett.**]
- 5 Hebrei uoluminibus suis a principiis nomen impununt, ut liber genesis in suo principio nominatur, ubi dicitur: *Liber generationis Adae*, et: *Hae sunt generationes caeli et terrae*. Qui liber principium est ueteris testamenti secundum quod in principio noui dicitur liber generationis Iesu Christi,⁵⁷ quamuis in hoc sit parua pars libri sed sic nouum testamentum consonat ueteri ut sicut uetus carnali proponitur Israeli, ita nouum spirituali et utriusque unus et idem ostenditur. [+ **M Tr; om. G La Lb R Ts**]
- 5a Matheus generationem descendendo comutat, quia humanitatem Christi ostendit, per quam Deus ad homines descendit. Lucas ascendendo referens formam sacramenti aperit. A baptismo enim incipiens usque ad Deum ascendit ostendens baptizatos ascendere ad hoc ut sint filii Dei [+ **M Tr; om. cett.**]
- 6 Generationis singulariter, quamuis multa per ordinem replicantur, quia unius Christi tantum generatio queritur, propter quam ceterae hic inducuntur, non diuinam proponit narrare generationem, quod impossibile est, ut Ysaïas ait: *Generationem eius quis enarrabit?* Sed humanam quamuis et hec ex

⁵⁶ Iesu ... inducit] *Nomen libri*, fol. 160^{ra-b}: Et sicut illud carnali Israeli proponitur, ita istud spirituali Iesu Christi ut per regiam et sacerdotalem personam natura Dei et hominis monstretur. Iesus olim populi Dei typice rector hic essentialiter secundum quod Deus potens saluare Christus nomen officii quod unctus in sacerdotem qui interpellet pro nobis. Qui bene in terram promissionis introducit.

⁵⁷ liber genesis ... Christi] *Nomen libri*, fol. 160^{ra}: Liber genesis ex principio suo nominatur ubi dicitur liber generationis Adae et hae sunt generationes caeli et terrae. Qui liber principium est ueteris secundum quod in principio noui dicitur liber generationis Iesu Christi.

magna parte sit inenarrabilis, quia etsi dicitur filius a patre genitus, tamen qualiter nec apostolus nec propheta nouit nec angelus.⁵⁸ [+ **M Tr; om. G La Lb R Ts**]

- 7 *Filii Dauid filii Abraham.* Ordo preposterus⁵⁹ ne premissio Abraham generationis contextio interromperetur. Horum duorum specialiter dicitur filius quia unus primus inter patriarchas alter inter reges, ad quos facta est⁶⁰ de Christo promissio, [+ **G La Lb M R Tr Ts Vb**] ut Iudeis Christum ex lege uenturum aperiret in quo uiderent uaticinia impleri.⁶¹ [+ **M Tr; om. G La Lb R Ts Vb**], et nota quod si quis opponat de Saule quod rex fuit nichil est quia non fuit rex nisi ad horam ut Deus impios per impium destrueret [+ **Lb; om. cett.**]
- 8 *Liber generationis.* Consuetudo hebreorum est ut uoluminibus suis a principiis nomina imponant ut est Genesis, Exodus. Vnde hic liber generationis quamuis in hoc parua pars libri [+ **G La Lb R Ts Vb; om. M Tr**]
- 9 Matheus ab initio euangelii sui, Lucas non ab initio sed a baptismo Christi generationes narrat [+ **G La Lb R Vb; om. M Tr Ts**]
- 10 Nota in euangelio duo continet<ur> principaliter: fidei institutionem et morum informationem. Fides instituitur quando euangeliste ex propria persona aliqua ostendunt de Christo. Cum uero ex propria persona loquentem inducunt uite informatio docente Christo maxime declaratur. Si qua enim documenta fidei Christo in propria persona inducat pauca sunt. [+ **R; om. G La Lb M Tr Ts**]

⁵⁸ Generationis ... angelus] *Nomen libri*, fol. 160th: Generationis singulariter quia unius tantum Christi generatio queritur propter quam ceterae hic dicuntur. Non diuinam proponit narrare generationem quod impossibile est ut Isaias generationem eius quis enarrabit sed humanam quandoquaque et haec ex magna parte inenarrabilis sit sed illa tota est inenarrabilis quia est si dicitur filius a patre genitus tamen qualiter nec apostolus propheta nec angelus nouit.

⁵⁹ ordo preposterus] Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei*, 1, 1, ed. D. Hurst & M. Adriaen, Turnhout: Brepols, 1969 (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 77), p. 7, lines 7–14: Filii Dauid filii Abraham. Ordo praeposterus sed necessarie commutatus. Si enim primum posuisset Abraham et postea Dauid, rursum ei repetendus fuerat abraham ut generationis series texeretur; *Cum post ascensionem*, fol. 92vb: Notandum est hic ordinem esse preposterum.

⁶⁰ Horum ... facta est] *Cum post ascensionem*, fol. 92th: Beda [...] Horum quoque duorum specialiter dicitur filius quia unus primus inter patriarchas, alter inter reges, ad quos promissio facta est.

⁶¹ ut ... impleri] *Cum post ascensionem*, fol. 92th: Iudeis per legem Christum uenturum aperiret hunc esse in quo uiderent conpleri uaticinia prophetarum.

- 11 Iesus hebraice sother grece saluator latine [+ **G Vb**; **om. La Lb M R Tr Ts**]
- 12 Messias est hebraice Christus grece unctus latine [+ **R**; **om. G La Lb M Tr Ts**]
- 13 Prius ponitur proprium nomen Iesus deinde Christi id est rex sacerdos prioribus presignatus [+**Lb R**; **om. G M Tr Ts**]

Appendix C.
Peter Comestor's Lectures on the Glossed Matthew

In the 1150s and 60s, at the Paris cathedral school, Peter Comestor lectured extensively on all four Gospels, using the Gloss as his text-book. From Comestor's quoting from both the Gospel text and the text of the glosses, it is possible to reconstruct the version of the Matthew Gloss he ought to have had in front of him. In the transcriptions below, the following typographic means have been used to distinguish between the different levels of the textual references in Comestor's lectures: *ITALICIZED CAPITAL LETTERS* are used to indicate a quotation from the Bible-text lemma; *SMALL CAPS* are employed for a quotation from the Gloss; *italics* are used for quotations from other parts of the Bible than the one under scrutiny. The text has been transcribed using Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 1024 (T) as base.

- a. *MATHEVS EX IVDEA* et cetera. Euangelio Mathei pre-mittit Ieronimus proemium, et hec est continentia proemii. Ostendit quis scripserit euangelium et ubi et quo ordine et qua utilitate. Primo ostendit quis fuerit ut, inquit, intelligas et nomen eius proprium et statum. Ostendit enim et quis fuerit et cuiusmodi. De statu autem Mathei duo possunt sufficere ad commendationem sui euangelii, scilicet quod Iudeus fuit et quod publicanus. Eo enim ipso quod euangelium scripsit et Iudeus fuit commendabilius est eius euangelium, quia fortius est testimonium ab inimico, et eo ipso Iudeorum temeritas arguitur quod a Iudeo scriptum est euangelium. Ex eo autem quod de publicano factus est apostolus magnitudo gratie Dei circa ipsum ostenditur. Publicani enim dicuntur qui publica tractant negocia ciuitatum. Cuiusmodi sine peccato uix autem numquam tractari possunt. Vnde et publicani dicuntur, quia publice peccant.
- b. *MATHEVS ... CVM PRIMVM* et cetera. Premittit Ieronimus glosam in qua ostendit quare Matheus scripsit euangelium et quare tantum quatuor euangelia recepta sunt in ecclesia, et de hac glosa sumptus est introitus nec alia ratione legitur premium ante eam nisi quia premium sufficit uni lectioni; glosa autem non sufficeret. Et est glosa Ieronimi, quia hunc librum principaliter exponunt Ieronimus, Hilarius, Rabanus. Si inueniantur aliquo exposita ab Augustino uel Beda omelie sunt, non continue expositiones. Primo ergo ostenditur quare scripsit euangelium et ponit duplicem causam. Scripsit enim ad memoriam et ad robur.

- c. *LIBER GENERATIONIS IESV CHRISTI*. Ecliptica est oratio et indigens supplemento, quia secutus est Matheus idioma prophetarum, qui in principiis suorum uoluminum solent uti ecliptica oratione, ut: *Visio Ysaie filii Amos*. Glosa: PLENIOR ... GENERATIONIS. Glosa: IN PRINCIPIO. Ac si diceret: hic est liber in quo agitur de temporali generatione Iesu Christi; modica est utilitas huius libri. Occurrit glosator dicens: LIBER, supple: 'est iste', EST APOTHECA GRECE.
- d. *LIBER GENERATIONIS*. Vide quia liber iste a principio suo nomen sortitur. [...] Glosa: HEBREI VOLVMINIBVS SVIS ... VBI DICITVR: LIBER GENERATIONIS ADE ET VBI DICITVR: HEE SVNT GENERATIONES CELI ET TERRE, et sic latine duo propria nomina habet liber Geneseos, quia dicitur Liber generationis Ade et Liber generationis celi et terre [...] GENERATIONIS dicit SINGVLARITER ... NON DIVINAM NARRARE, id est explicare, QVAMVIS ET HEC, scilicet humana, MAGNA EX PARTE SIT INENARRABILIS, non tamen adeo ineffabilis est sicut illa ...
- e. *IESV*. Ecce eleganter dictum est quasi per antitesim. Ac si diceret: Liber iste agit de generatione Ade perditoris, sed iste de generatione saluatoris. Iesus namque hebraice, soter grece, saluator latine. De hoc habes interlinearem. *CHRISTI*, id est Messie in lege promissi. Christus enim grece, 'Messias' hebraice, 'unctus' latine, et Matheus qui ebraice scripsit inquit: 'Iesu Messie', sed Greci interpretes posuerunt 'Christi'. Interlinearis: CHRISTVS IPSE EST QVI ET MESSIAS IDEO HOC NOMINE, id est quia dictum Iesu Messie [...] Vel ideo postquam ait *IESV* addidit *CHRISTI*, quia hoc nomen Iesus in ueteri testamento multis est impositum [...] Glosa: VT PER REGIAM ... RECTOR, id est Iosue, qui populum Dei rexit et in terram promissionis introducit, OLIM dictus est IESVS TIPICE ...
- f. *FILII DAVID FILII ABRAHAM*. Determinauit Matheus quasi per quandam tituli appositionem de quo agat, scilicet de generatione Iesu Christi [...] Glosa: MATHEVS GENERATIONEM INCIPIT AB EXORDIO PROMISSIONIS, id est a patribus quibus primo facta est promissio, 'modo' supple: ut ostendat Christum Deum et hominem in principio libri sui [...] Sed cum Abraham fuerit antiquior et ei sit primo promissus, cur Dauid est promissus? Propter seruandam formam genealogie sequentis. Sic enim se habet connexio et quasi colligatio clausularum, ut, inquam, post terminatur clausula precedens

ab eadem incipiat sequens quod minime seruaretur si Abraham premitteretur. Si enim diceret ‘filii Abraham filii Dauid’, postea oporteret eum redire ad Abraham. Ergo pre seruanda lege genealogie ordinem preposteravit. Glosa: ORDO PREPOSTERVS, QVIA VNVS PRIMVS INTER REGES de terra quos elegit Dominus ad permanendum, alioquin non staret. Non enim Dauid fuit primus regum, immo Saul eum precessit quem populus a Domino in ira regem extorsit.

GIULIA ECCA
University La Sapienza, Rome

EDITING THE LEMMATA
OF GALEN'S COMMENTARY
ON THE HIPPOCRATIC
APHORISMS, BOOK 5*

In an important and famous passage of his auto-bibliographical treatise *De libris propriis* ('On my own books'), chap. 9 (Boudon-Millot 159.9–160.21 = Kühn XIX 33.15–35.11), Galen of Pergamum (born in 129 and died around 216)¹ speaks about his commentaries on Hippocrates' writings.² Galen tells us that he wrote the first commentaries for his own use and for the use of friends and pupils. For this reason, he did not systematically arrange them for publication; and he did not make direct references to the interpretations of earlier commentators, since his library had remained in Pergamum. Later on, however, since he heard false interpretations of the Hippocratic texts by others, he decided to write the rest of the commentaries 'for general publication' (πρὸς κοινὴν ἔκδοσιν):

As with my other works written for friends, so especially with the works of Hippocratic commentary, I had no expectation

* I wrote this paper within my post-doc fellowship at the University of Hamburg and during my stay at the Humboldt-University of Berlin: I thank Christian Brockmann and Philip van der Eijk for the support. I thank also Glenn W. Most for some interesting suggestions he gave me during a workshop on 'edition practises' at the Max-Planck Institute of Berlin, and Sean Coughlin for proofreading the English text.

¹ On Galen's biography, see Boudon-Millot 2012, especially pp. 241–44 for the year of his death.

² On Galen's commentaries on Hippocratic works, see Smith 1979, pp. 123–76; Manuli 1983; Manetti & Roselli 1994; Flemming 2008. Very interesting observations on Galen's commentaries (and in particular on the *Commentary on Aphorisms*) are to be found in von Staden 2002. On the interpretation of the famous passage from *De libris propriis* and on the notion of ἔκδοσις in Galen, see Pfaff 1932; Mansfeld 1994, pp. 117–76; Dorandi 2007, pp. 65–81; von Staden 2009; Gurd 2011; Roselli 2012; and Dorandi 2014.

that they would reach a wider audience. Their origin, in fact, was my writing notes on those works purely as an exercise for myself. [...] Word-by-word commentaries had already been written by many of my predecessors, and I knew their work pretty well; and if I found what I considered errors in those writings, I thought it superfluous to refute them; for I would already have made those points in the works I had given to people on request, where, however, I seldom made direct reference to commentators. To begin with, I did not have their commentaries with me in Rome, as all the books in my possession had remained in Asia. If, then, I remembered some particular gross error on the part of one of them, such that anyone who followed it would suffer a severe setback in his medical practice, I would indicate this; otherwise, I would confine myself to my own interpretation, without reference to the conflicting interpretations of others. The *Commentary on the Aphorisms* was composed in this way [...]. After I had composed the above works, I heard someone praising a false interpretation of one of the *Aphorisms*. From that point on, whenever I gave one of these works to anybody, it was composed with an eye to general publication, not just to the attainments of that individual (transl. by P. Singer).³

On the basis of this passage, scholars often divide Galen's commentaries on Hippocratic texts into two big groups: the earlier commentaries that were not intended to be published, and the later ones written for publication. The *Commentary on Aphorisms* explicitly belongs to the first group, namely the commen-

³ Gal. *Libr. Propr.* 9 (Boudon-Millot 159.10–160.21): Οὐτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δοθέντων φίλοις ἤλπισα πολλοὺς ἔξειν οὔτε τὰ τῶν Ἱπποκρατειῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐξηγητικά· τὴν ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἑμαυτὸν γυμνάζων ἐγεγράφη, εἰς αὐτὰ ποθ' ὑπομνήματα [...]· ἐξηγήσεις δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην αὐτοῦ λέξιν ἤδη πολλοῖς τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ γεγραμμένας οὐ φαύλως εἰδώς, εἴ τι μοι μὴ καλῶς ἐδόκουν εἰρηκέναι, περιττὸν ἡγοῦμην ἐλέγχειν· ἐνεδείξαμην δὲ τοῦτο δι' ὧν πρῶην ἔδωκα τοῖς παρακαλέσασι, σπανιάκις ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰπὼν τι πρὸς τοὺς ἐξηγουμένους αὐτά· τὴν ἀρχὴν γὰρ οὐδ' εἶχον αὐτῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὰ ὑπομνήματα, πάντων ὧν ἐκεκτήμην βιβλίων ἐν Ἀσίᾳ μεινάντων· εἴ που τοῖνυν ἐμεμνήμην ὑπὸ τίνος αὐτῶν πάντι μοχθηρῶς εἰρημένον, ὡς μεγάλως βλάπτεσθαι περὶ τὰ τῆς τέχνης ἔργα τοὺς πιστεύσαντας αὐτοῖς, ἐπεσημνήμαμην τοῦτο, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ γνώμην εἶπον ἄνευ τοῦ μνημονεῦσαι τῶν ἄλλως ἐξηγουμένων· καὶ τὰ γε εἰς τοὺς ἀφορισμοὺς ὑπομνήματα [...] οὕτως ἐγράφη, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τίνος ἀκούσας ἐξήγησιν ἀφορισμοῦ μοχθηρὰν ἐπαινοῦντος, ὅσα τοῦ λοιποῦ τισιν ἔδωκα, πρὸς κοινὴν ἔκδοσιν ἀποβλέπων, οὐκ ἰδίαν ἔξιν ἐκείνων μόνων τῶν λαβόντων, οὕτως συνέθηκα.

taries originally written for friends, or better, for 'private' use.⁴ Nevertheless, one can find in this work some clear allusions and references to later additions made to the text by Galen himself. For example, in *In Hipp. Aph.* 1.14, Galen claims that he had added some words to the text compared to the first edition of his *Commentary*.⁵ Furthermore, the whole prologue to the 3rd book was probably inserted some years after the first composition of the *Commentary*.⁶ Therefore, what we read of the *Commentary on Aphorisms* is a sort of reworked edition by Galen, which he probably modified and corrected after he got access to his private library, initially left in Pergamum.⁷ In this corrected version of the text, Galen also took account of philological questions and variant readings of the *Aphorisms*, probably because he finally got access to the editions of earlier commentators of the Hippocratic treatise.⁸

Some scholars have attempted to reconstruct the dates of Galen's writings, even though it is almost impossible to do so precisely.⁹ The *Commentary on Aphorisms* is quoted among the early commentaries in *De libris propriis*, chap. 9 (Boudon-Millot 160.13–14 = Kühn XIX 35.3) and it is listed immediately after those on surgical texts in the *Commentary on Epidemics III* (Wenkebach 61.3–6 = Kühn XVIIa 577.13–16). It has been inferred, therefore, that Galen composed the first version of his *Commentary on Aphorisms* during his second Roman period around 175 CE (that means under the Emperor Marcus Aurelius), addressing it to a restricted circle of friends or pupils.

⁴ On some aspects of Galen's *Commentary on Aphorisms* see López Férez 1991 and Manetti & Roselli 1994, pp. 1535–1538.

⁵ Kühn XVIIb 415.3–5: ὅθεν αὐτὸς μὲν τούτοις ἐνέθηκα τήνδε τὴν ῥῆσιν οὐκ οὔσαν ἐν τοῖς προεκδοθείσιν.

⁶ See Manetti & Roselli 1994, pp. 1536 and 1582–1583.

⁷ Cf. Ilberg 1889, p. 216 with n. 3: 'Dass uns endlich Galens Commentare zu den Aphorismen des Hippokrates in zweiter Auflage vorliegen, folgt unweigerlich aus einem im ersten Buche befindlichen Zusatze des Verfassers'.

⁸ The Hippocratic *Aphorisms* are perhaps the most commented text of medicine of Antiquity: cf. the list of ancient commentators given by Ihm 2002.

⁹ On the chronology of Galen's writings, see Ilberg 1889; Bardong 1942; Peterson 1977. For a general overview on the dating of all the works by Galen, see Boudon-Millot 2012, pp. 351–74: the *Commentary on Aphorisms* is discussed on p. 355.

What is more difficult is to grasp the date of the reworking-stage of the *Commentary*. According to Ilberg, the *terminus post quem* for the writing of the *Commentary on Aphorisms* is whenever Galen wrote the *Commentary on De officina medici*, since he quotes from the latter in *Commentary on Aphorism* 1.1 (Kühn XVIIb 351.13–15).¹⁰ Bardong distinguished the date of the first edition of the *Commentary on Aphorisms* (in the year 175) from that of the reworked edition, which he placed between 177 and 180.¹¹ Bardong, however, based his conclusion on a supposed quotation of the *Commentary on Aphorisms I*, which he found in Kühn's edition of Galen's treatise *De crisibus*.¹² This observation led him to believe that *De crisibus* had been written after the first edition of the *Commentary*. Nonetheless, this quotation has been proved to be wrong, and it does not appear in the critical edition of *De crisibus* by Alexanderson, published in 1967.¹³

We have good reasons to suppose that the date of the reworked and 'final' version by Galen is much later than the second Roman stay. In the *Commentary*, in fact, we find references to *De ordine librorum propriorum* (*In Hipp. Aph.* 3.30: Kühn XVIIb 647.15–19)¹⁴ and even to *De locis affectis* (*In Hipp. Aph.* 6.51: Kühn XVIIIa 88.4–5), which Galen is assumed to have written under the reign of Septimius Severus, i.e., after the year 193. Bardong denied the importance of these references, although, his reasons are simplistic. He claimed that: a) it was implausible that Galen had any interest in the *Commentary on Aphorisms* in his late age; b) these quotations could be late additions, which one could easily eliminate: if one wanted to justify their presence in the text, one should

¹⁰ Ilberg 1889, p. 230.

¹¹ Bardong 1942, pp. 617–18 and 637–38.

¹² According to Kühn IX 671.11, the text of *De crisibus* reads: ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἀποδέδεικται μὲν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τῶν Ἱπποκράτους ἀφορισμῶν ἡμῶν ἐξηγουμένων, 'since it has been shown in the first book of the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates we have commented'.

¹³ According to the edition by Alexanderson (145.17–18), the correct text reads: ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἀποδέδεικται μὲν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τὸν Ἱπποκράτους ἀφορισμὸν ἡμῶν ἐξηγουμένων and means 'since it was shown in the first book, in commenting on the aphorism of Hippocrates', where Galen refers to the first book of the *De crisibus*. On this important point, see Peterson 1977, pp. 492–93.

¹⁴ Cf. Mansfeld 1994, p. 132 n. 237.

think of a 'third edition' of the *Commentary on Aphorisms*.¹⁵ In addition to these references to *De ordine librorum propriorum* and *De locis affectis*, it is worth pointing to the expression ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἄλλως ἐωράκαμεν in the fifth book of the *Commentary* (*In Hipp. Aph.* 5.1: Kühn XVIIb 782.4–12), which does allude to the 12th book of *De Methodo Medendi* (12.8: Kühn X 871.2–11), probably written after 193 CE.¹⁶ Thus, it seems we cannot know based on this evidence whether Galen corrected his *Commentary on Aphorisms* just once or several times. Nevertheless, we can affirm that with all probability his last corrections and additions date from the last period of his life.

The editors of the *Commentary on Aphorisms* have to consider that Galen's philological discussions on variant readings and unsolved problems with them might derive from the accumulation of material during the different stages of his work. The task of the modern editor is to edit the lemmata (that is, the *Aphorisms*), as well as the corresponding commentary, as Galen in all probability wrote them in the last version of his treatise, after he had reworked it. The first point to investigate is Galen's philological work:¹⁷ often unsatisfied with the readings transmitted in the Hippocratic manuscripts, he introduced corrections into Hippocrates' text in his *Commentary*. In many cases, he also took into account the readings of the earlier commentators on *Aphorisms*, who lived and worked in the Hellenistic period: in most of these cases, his style is polemical, and he harshly criticizes the textual choices of his predecessors.

In reconstructing Galen's text of the lemmata, we face several different problems. First of all, it is important to distinguish what Galen wrote in his book from what Galen read in the copies of the Hippocratic text available to him. We wonder whether Galen merely transcribed what he read in most of the Hippocratic man-

¹⁵ Bardong 1942, p. 618 and n. 2.

¹⁶ See Boudon-Millot 2012, p. 364 for the dating of books 7–14 of *De methodo medendi*.

¹⁷ On the philological work done by Galen, see the old but still useful papers by Bröcker 1885 (in particular pp. 421–22 concerning the *Commentary on Aphorisms*) and von Müller 1891; see also the more recent essays by López Férez 1992; Manetti & Roselli 1994, pp. 1563–1565; Hanson 1998; von Staden 2009 and Roselli 2012. Cf. Totelin 2009 on Galen's philological work in his pharmacological treatises.

uscripts or whether he wrote the lemmata according to his own understanding and corrections. The situation is further complicated by the fact that Galen could have recorded (perhaps in the margins of the text) all the variants he took into consideration.

1. Case Studies

The modern editor of Galen's *Commentary on Aphorisms* has to consider different textual layers, which mirror the many stages of Galen's process of reading and writing the lemmata. In this paper, I shall present some examples from the 5th book of the *Commentary*, where Galen discusses philological variants of the Hippocratic lemmata.¹⁸

I will quote here as independent testimonies of book 5 of Galen's *Commentary* the following manuscripts:¹⁹ Parisinus graecus 2266 (= P, 12th-13th c.);²⁰ Vaticanus graecus 283 (= V, 13th c.); Marcianus graecus 278 (= M, 13th c.); Scorialensis Φ III.7 (= S, 13th c.); Vaticanus Urbinas graecus 65 (= U, 14th c.); Parisinus Supplementi graeci 447 (= J, 14th c.: it only preserves books I–V);²¹ Vaticanus graecus 280 (= N, 14th c.: it only preserves books I–V); in a few cases I will also quote Palatinus graecus 385 (= Pal, 14th c.: it transmits Galen's *Commentary on Aphorisms* 1.15–5.39).²² The siglum 'Gal.codd.' indicates the unanimity of the tradition of all the Greek main manuscripts of Galen. Of Galen's *Commentary* we also have the medieval translations into Syriac (Gal.Syr., only the lemmata are preserved) and Arabic

¹⁸ I am preparing the critical edition, with Italian translation and commentary, of the 5th book of Galen's *Commentary on the Hippocratic Aphorisms* for the Corpus Medicorum Graecorum series (De Gruyter).

¹⁹ On the manuscript tradition of Galen's *Commentary on Aphorisms*, see Magdelaine 1994, I pp. 225–64, which offers a good overview of different questions concerning its relation with the Hippocratic text; see also Savino 2012.

²⁰ Magdelaine 1994, I p. 228, followed by Savino 2012, p. 31, dates the manuscript to the 13th century. Nevertheless, I prefer the hypothesis by Wilson 1987, p. 59, according to which 'a date in the latter part of the twelfth century seems likely'.

²¹ See Ecce 2018.

²² Magdelaine 1994, I p. 227 presents it as a manuscript of the 15th or 16th century. Nevertheless, according to the catalogue by Stevenson 1885, pp. 247–48 the part that transmits Galen's *Commentary on Aphorisms* is to be dated to the 14th century.

by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (Gal.Ar.): both offer a precious help for the analysis of Galen's text tradition.²³

In order to better understand the complexity of the tradition of the commented lemmata, it is often necessary to refer to the text transmitted under the name of Hippocrates, according to its Greek main manuscripts:²⁴ Parisinus Supplementi graeci 446 (= Hipp.C, 10th c.); Marcianus graecus 269 (= Hipp.M, 10th c.); Vaticanus graecus 276 (= Hipp.V, 12th c.); in some cases, I will also consider the Parisinus graecus 2140 (= Hipp.I, 12th c.), which is a copy of Hipp.M, but contaminated. The siglum 'Hipp. codd.' indicates the unanimity of the main Greek Hippocratic manuscripts.

Finally, while the tradition of the lemmata in Stephanus and Theophilus, the late commentators on the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*, is often interesting, it cannot be considered at the same level as the Galenic (and Hippocratic) textual tradition in editing Galen's *Commentary*.²⁵ Strictly speaking, Stephanus' and Theophilus' variant readings of the lemmata do not belong to the manuscript tradition of Galen's *Commentary* and they should not be recorded in the critical apparatus of the Galenic text. One can decide, however, to offer to the readers of the Galenic text a wider perspective on the history of the lemmata, as Magdelaine, for example, decided to do for her edition of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* and Westerink for his edition of Stephanus' *Commentary*: both included, in fact, the variant readings of the different commentators in their critical apparatus. A reasonable compromise between these two options might be to quote Stephanus' and Theophilus' most interesting

²³ I quote Ḥunayn's Arabic translation of Galen's *Commentary on Hippocratic Aphorisms* according to the edition established by Pormann & Mimura 2017. The Syriac lemmata are taken from the edition by Pognon 1903. I thank Matteo Martelli for the English translations of some words from the Syriac and Arabic text.

²⁴ On the Hippocratic tradition, see Magdelaine 1994, I pp. 87–219.

²⁵ Stephanus' *Commentary on Aphorisms V* is preserved only by one manuscript (E: Scorialensis Σ.II.10, 10th–11th c.) and edited by Westerink 1995. Theophilus' *Commentary* is unfortunately still not edited and printed just in the non-critical edition by Dietz 1834, II pp. 236–544 (the fifth book is on pp. 437–86). I will also consider some variant readings of Theophilus as quoted in the critical apparatus by Magdelaine 1994 (vol. II) and Westerink 1995: the two editors took into account the manuscripts Vaticanus Urbina graecus 64 (10th–11th c.) and Vaticanus graecus 2254 (10th–11th c.).

variant readings of the lemmata in the critical notes on the text, rather than in the critical apparatus.²⁶

In the following case studies, I will offer the *apparatus criticus* only with regard to the words in bold, which represent clear examples of the complex tradition of the lemmata.²⁷

1.1. Galen, *In Hipp. Aph.* 5.7

This aphorism concerns the age at which epileptic fits usually occur (Kühn XVIIb 790.8–792.16, modified):

5.7 [cf. Littré IV 534.6–8]

10 Τὰ ἐπιληπτικά ὁκόσοισι πρὸ τῆς ἡβῆς γίνεται, μετὰστασιν
ἴσχει. ὁκόσοισι δὲ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτέων γίνεται
συναποθνήσκει.

(792) [...] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη τις
γραφὴ τοιαύτη· οἷσι δὲ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτέων γίνεται,
15 **τὰ πολλὰ συναποθνήσκει**, σημαίνοντος τοῦ τὰ πολλὰ ταύ-
τὸν τῷ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ.

‘Epileptic fits that occur before puberty admit a cure, but if they occur after the age of twenty-five they **last until death**’. There is also another reading, of this sort: ‘to those that are twenty-five years, [*scil.* fits] **usually last until death**’, since ‘usually’ means the same thing as ‘most of the time’.

790.11 **συναποθνήσκει** Gal.codd. Gal.Syr. Gal.Ar.] cf. τὰ πολλὰ
συναποθνήσκει Hipp.codd. Gal.comm. (Kühn XVIIb 792.15)

That Galen wrote the lemma without the adverb τὰ πολλὰ is almost certain: for the adverb is transmitted neither by the Greek manuscripts, nor by the Syriac and the Arabic translations. Nevertheless, Galen was conscious that there was also the variant

²⁶ Over the past few years, I have been attending some meetings with the academic staff of the Corpus Medicorum Graecorum (Prof. Dr Christian Brockmann and Dr Roland Wittwer) and some editors of future editions of other books of Galen’s *Commentary on Aphorisms* (Dr Christina Savino for book 6 and Maria Börno for book 7). During these meetings, we have been discussing about these and similar problems in editing Galen’s text.

²⁷ I follow the page-line numeration of the Kühn edition, in order to avoid confusion. The English translations of the lemmata are taken from the edition by Jones 1923 (but slightly modified).

reading with the adverb τὰ πολλά before the verb συναποθνήσκει, which he quoted at the end of his commentary.²⁸ This reading is unanimously preserved in all the Hippocratic manuscripts. The circulation of this adverb is also confirmed by the lemma and the corresponding commentary by Stephanus (Westerink 30.10 and 30.32–33) and Theophilus (Dietz II 443.17 and 443.26–27).

In this case, it is clear that Galen, faced with two different readings in the Hippocratic manuscripts he had, made a choice that does not correspond with the Hippocratic tradition transmitted to us by the Byzantine manuscripts.

1.2. Galen, *In Hipp. Aph.* 5.13

One of the most interesting cases in Galen's *Commentary*, book 5, is the 13th aphorism, which belongs to a group of aphorisms concerning illnesses of the lungs (Kühn XVIIb 797.9–798.10, modified):

5.13 [cf. Littré IV 536.8–9]:

- 10 Ὅκόσοι ἀφρώδες αἷμα **ἀναπτύουσι**, τούτοις ἐκ τοῦ πνεύμονος ἡ ἀναγωγὴ γίνεται.
- Καὶ τῶν ἀντιγράφων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐξηγησαμένων
τὸ βιβλίον οὐκ ὀλίγοι κατὰ τήνδε τὴν λέξιν ἴσασι τὸν ἀφο-
15 ρισμόν γεγραμμένον· ὁκόσοι ἀφρώδες αἷμα **ἐμέουσι**. καὶ
τινὲς γε τὴν ἐξήγησιν αὐτοῦ ποιοῦμενοι πλήθος ἐνδείκνυ-
σθαί φασι τοῦνομα καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίως μετενη-
νέχθαι. προδήλως δ' οὗτοι καταψεύδονται τοῦ φαινομένου·
(798) πολλάκις γὰρ ὥπται πτύσις αἵματος ἀφρώδους ἄνευ πλήθους
γεγενημένη. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὄντως ὑφ' Ἱπποκράτους οὕτως
ἐγράφη, κατακεχρήσθαι τῇ προσηγορίᾳ φήσομεν αὐτόν· οὐ
γὰρ δὴ τὸ μὲν πολὺ τὴν ἐκ πνεύμονος ἀναγωγὴν δηλοῖ, τὸ
5 δ' ὀλίγον ἐξ ἄλλου τινός. εἰ δ' **ἀναπτύουσιν ἢ πτύουσιν**
εἷη γεγραμμένον, ὠνομάσθαι τε κυρίως ἐνδείκνυσθαί τε
τὸ τοιοῦτον αἷμα τὴν σαρκοειδῆ τοῦ πνεύμονος οὐσίαν,
ἥπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ σώμα, δεδέχθαι τὴν ἔλκωσιν.

²⁸ The manuscript J (Parisinus Suppl. gr. 447) actually preserves the reading without the article (πολλά instead of τὰ πολλά), which is a clear mistake.

‘When patients **spit up** frothy blood, the expectoration comes from the lungs’.

And most of the manuscripts and not few of those who commented the book, know that this aphorism is written according to the following reading: ‘when patients **vomit** frothy blood’. And some people, who offer this interpretation of it, say that the term [i.e. ‘vomit’] indicates the abundance [*scil.* of blood], and has, therefore, a metaphorical meaning other than its proper sense. Clearly, these people tell lies against the evident: in fact, the spitting of blood is often seen to occur without abundance. On the one hand, if Hippocrates actually wrote it in this form, then we will say that he used a metaphor: for it is not the case that a large quantity points to the expectoration from the lungs, while a small quantity [*scil.* points to the expectoration] from another bodily part. On the other hand, if he wrote ‘**spit up**’ or ‘**spit**’, [*scil.* we will say that] he used this term in its proper sense and this kind of blood [i.e. ‘frothy’] would indicate that the fleshy substance of the lungs, which is its proper body, has become ulcerated.

- 797.10 ἀναπτύουσι P N, cf. Hipp.CI] πτύουσι V M S U J Pal; cf. ἐμέουσι Gal.Comm. (Kühn XVIIb 797.15); cf. ἀναμέουσι Hipp.V, *corr. in* ἀνεμέουσι Hipp.V², ἀνεμέωσι Hipp.M
- 798.5 ἀναπτύουσιν ἢ πτύουσιν P V M S J] ἀναπτύουσιν ἢ βήττουσιν (*aut* βήσσουσιν) V² N: ἀναπτύουσιν ἢ ἀναβήττουσιν U: ἀναβήττουσιν ἢ ἀναπτύουσιν Pal

What is interesting for us is the verb ἀναπτύουσι, ‘spit up’, of the lemma. In his *Commentary*, Galen discusses the reading ἐμέουσι, ‘vomit’, which according to him has been transmitted both by most of the ancient copies of Hippocratic *Aphorisms* and by ‘not a few’ of the earlier commentators of the treatise. He criticizes the idea of the previous commentators, according to whom Hippocrates used the verb ἐμέουσι in a metaphorical meaning, indicating the large quantity of vomited blood. Galen means that the verb ‘to vomit’ usually describes the vomit from the stomach or something similar, but it does not indicate the spitting or the expectoration of blood from the lungs. Therefore, he prefers the reading ἀναπτύουσι or πτύουσι (cf. Kühn XVIIb 798.5 below). However, it is not clear whether ἀναπτύουσι was a reading transmitted by only a few manuscripts and ancient commentators in Galen’s time, or if it is to be considered a conjecture by Galen himself. The first

sentence 'most of the manuscripts and not few of the commentators ...' with reference to the reading ἐμέουσι could lead one to think that Galen actually found the verb ἀναπτύουσι attested in some few manuscripts. Nevertheless, it could also be that with this sentence he intended to give the idea that the reading ἀναπτύουσι should have been also attested somewhere, although he did not read it in the manuscripts available to him.

If we consider the philological aspect of the lemma, this case is very interesting, because no Hippocratic manuscript attests the reading ἐμέουσι, which, according to Galen, is the most common at his time. Among the Hippocratic manuscripts, we find either ἀνεμέουσιν (with the variant in conjunctive ἀνεμέωσι) or Galen's preferred reading ἀναπτύουσι.²⁹ As far as the Galenic manuscript tradition is concerned, all the manuscripts transmit either the reading ἀναπτύουσι (PN) or πτύουσι (VMSUJPal) in the lemma. The Syriac version of the *Aphorisms* confirms the Galenic reading, which Pognon translates with the French verb 'crachent'.³⁰ In the corresponding Arabic translation by Ḥunayn we find the verb *man qaḍafa* 'to expel' in the lemma.

A further problem arises in the sentence of Galen's *Commentary* in which he quotes two readings that according to him are more appropriate for the Hippocratic text (Kühn XVIIb 798.5). Unfortunately, the manuscript tradition for this passage of Galen is not consistent in transmitting the two readings. Most of the Galenic manuscripts have the verbs ἀναπτύουσιν ἢ πτύουσιν, but some others attest the couple ἀναπτύουσιν ἢ βήττουςιν or ἀναπτύουσιν ἢ ἀναβήττουςιν. The verb βήττω specifically means 'to expectorate' or 'to cough'. In the correspondent translation by Ḥunayn we find three verbs: *man qaḍafa* 'to expel', *man nafata* 'to expectorate', *man bazaqa* 'to spit' (other Arabic manuscripts have the variant reading *man baṣaqa*, with the same meaning).

The late-antique commentaries do not help to clarify the situation. In the lemma of Stephanus' *Commentary*, we find Galen's favourite reading ἀναπτύουσι (Westerink 48.18). In the lemma of Theophilus' text, we find ἀναπτύουσι in some manuscripts, but in some others (in the manuscripts U and V) the verb used is

²⁹ Cf. Magdelaine 1994, II p. 432 and III pp. 628–29.

³⁰ See Pognon 1903, p. 33.

ἐμέουσι.³¹ Among the variant readings of the tradition, Stephanus mentions in the commentary to the lemma the verbs ἀνεμέωσιν (which is, in fact, the reading transmitted in part of the Hippocratic tradition), ἀναβήττουσι and ἀναπτύουσι, whereas he does not mention ἐμέουσι at all (Westerink 50.14–27). Theophilus seems to mention the variants ἀναβήττουσι and ἐμέουσι (Dietz II 447.29–30).³²

Regarding the indirect tradition and parallel passages of aphorism 5.13, the circulation of the reading ἐμέουσι is confirmed only by another Hippocratic treatise, that is, *Praenotiones Coae* 425.1–2.³³ Celsus (1st cent. AD), on the other hand, translates the Hippocratic aphorism into Latin by using the verb *excreo* (2.7.16), which means ‘to expectorate’ or ‘to spit up’.³⁴

To sum up, the case of aphorism 13 of the 5th book is a very good example of how, and how much, Galen’s *Commentary* influenced and interacted with the manuscript tradition of the Hippocratic text, as well as with the other commentaries on the same work. It is likely that the Byzantine copyists corrected the Hippocratic text according to Galen’s tradition. In this case, Magdelaine, who edited the *Aphorisms* in 1994, decided to correct the Hippocratic manuscript tradition and to print ἐμέουσι, even if this reading is never attested in the Hippocratic manuscripts. There is certainly a rational justification behind the choice of correcting Hippocrates through Galen. However, we must also consider that Galen’s claim that ‘most manuscripts have an x reading’ is not necessarily based on the collation of the best Hippocratic witnesses.

On the other hand, we are more interested in what the editor of Galen’s *Commentary* should do. She or he is clearly expected to follow the Galenic manuscript tradition and print, in this specific case, ἀναπτύουσι. Even if Galen read the variant ἐμέουσι, we

³¹ The reading ἐμέουσι of the Vaticanus Urbinas gr. 64 and the Vaticanus gr. 2254 results from the collation by Magdelaine and Westerink, whereas, according to the edition by Dietz (II 447.27), some manuscripts have ἀναπτύουσι.

³² Nevertheless, these readings are not certain, since Dietz’ edition is not critical.

³³ Littré V 680.7–8: Ὅσοι ἀφρώδες αἷμα ἐμέουσι, πόνου μὴ ἐόντος κάτω τοῦ διαφράγματος, ἀπὸ τοῦ πλεῦμονος ἐμέουσιν.

³⁴ Marx 62.10–11: *At qui spumantem sanguinem excreant, iis in pulmone vitium est.* Cf. the English translation by Spencer: ‘But there is a lung disease in those who spit up frothy blood’.

have to assume that he considered this reading as a mistake of the Hippocratic manuscript tradition and that he corrected it in the lemma of his *Commentary*. Nevertheless, the editor should also give account of the readings ἐμέουσι and ἀνεμέουσι (/ ἀνεμέωσι) in the critical apparatus of the lemma, even though they are not attested in any manuscript. In this way, one should distinguish what Galen wrote from what Galen actually read.

1.3. Galen, *In Hipp. Aph.* 5.16

The 16th aphorism is devoted to the damages provoked by the heat (Kühn XVIIb 800.17–802.10, modified):

5.16 [cf. Littré IV 536.14–16]

(801) Τὸ θερμὸν βλάπτει ταῦτα πλεονάκις χρωμένοις· σαρκ-
ῶν ἐκθήλυνσιν, νεύρων ἀκράτειαν, γνώμης νάρκωσιν, αἵ-
μορραγίας, λειποθυμίας· ταῦτα οἷσι θάνατος.

(802)

6 [...] Γέγραπται μὲν οὖν ἡ τελευτὴ τοῦ ἀφορισμοῦ διαφερόντως ἐν
τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις, ἅπασαι δὲ αἱ γραφαὶ τὴν εἰρημένην ἐν-
δείκνυνται διάνοιαν. ἔστι δ' αὐτῶν μία μὲν ἥδε, **τούτοις**
θάνατος· ἑτέρα δέ, **ταῦτα ἐφ' οἷς ὁ θάνατος**· ἡ τρίτη δέ,

10

ταῦτα οἷσι θάνατος· ἄλλη δέ, **ταῦτα εἰς θάνατον**.

‘Heat produces the following harmful results in those who use it too frequently: softening of the flesh, impotence of the muscles, dullness of the intelligence, haemorrhages and fainting: **these are the things upon which death** [*scil.* **occurs**]’.³⁵

[...] The end of the aphorism has been written in different ways, then, in the manuscripts, but all the readings indicate

³⁵ With regard to the expression of the lemma ταῦτα οἷσι θάνατος (and, similarly, to the other three variant readings reported by Galen), different translations are grammatically possible, since it is unclear what the dative refers to: a) I refer the dative οἷσι to the ταῦτα immediately before, intending it as neuter, and I translate ‘these are the things upon which death occurs’. I opt for this solution, because it seems to me the most suitable one also for the other three variants quoted in the commentary, which – as Galen explicitly says – all have the same meaning. b) One could also refer the dative as masculine to the people who suffer the effects of the heat: in this case, one should translate ‘for those who suffers these things, death occurs’. c) Another possible translation could be ‘for those people, these things are [i.e. “mean”] death’, although the position of the Greek words makes this possibility less persuasive.

the mentioned meaning. One of these readings is: ‘**upon these things death** [*scil. occurs*]’; another: ‘**these are the things after which death** [*scil. follows*]’; a third one is: ‘**these are the things upon which death** [*scil. occurs*]’; another one: ‘**these things lead to death**’.

- 801.2 ταῦτα οἷσι θάνατος Gal.codd. Gal.Syr.;³⁶ cf. Hipp.codd.]
cf. τούτοισι θάνατος Gal.Comm. (Kühn XVIIb 802.8–9);
ταῦτα ἐφ’ οἷς ὁ θάνατος Gal.Comm. (Kühn XVIIb 802.9);
ταῦτα εἰς θάνατον Gal.Comm. (Kühn XVIIb 802.10).

At the end of the aphorism, both the Galenic and the Hippocratic³⁷ manuscripts have the expression ταῦτα οἷσι θάνατος, which I translate ‘these are the things upon which death [*scil. occurs*]’. Nevertheless, at the end of his commentary on Hippocrates’ text, Galen proposes four different readings, which have the same meaning: 1) τούτοισι θάνατος ‘upon these things death [*scil. occurs*]’; 2) ταῦτα ἐφ’ οἷς ὁ³⁸ θάνατος ‘these are the things after which death [*scil. follows*]’; 3) ταῦτα³⁹ οἷσι θάνατος ‘these are the things upon which death [*scil. occurs*]’; 4) ταῦτα εἰς θάνατον ‘these things lead to death’. The first two variants of the lemma are attested neither in the Hippocratic nor in the Galenic manuscripts; the third variant is the Hippocratic and Galenic one; the fourth one occurs only in another Hippocratic treatise, *De liquidorum usu* 1.4 (Joly 165.14–16 = Littré VI 120.16–18), which Galen quotes at the beginning of the commentary (Kühn XVIIb 801.5–6).

In the only manuscript that preserves Stephanus’ *Commentary*, we find the reading οἷσι θάνατος (Westerink 52.18–19), which Westerink translates ‘in these cases it means death’. Nevertheless, in the commentary to the lemma, Stephanus mentions only the reading οἷσι δὲ ταῦτα θάνατος ‘where these occur, it means

³⁶ The Arabic translation seems to be slightly different in this case, but it is impossible to say what Hunayn exactly read.

³⁷ The only exception in the Hippocratic tradition is caused by a clear mistake of the copyist, which therefore I did not mention in the critical apparatus: Hipp.M transmits only the word θάνατος, but the same or a later hand corrects it by introducing the words ταῦτα οἷσι in the margin.

³⁸ The manuscript J transmits the erroneous reading ταύτη ἐφ’ ἧς and omits the article ὁ.

³⁹ Also in this case and in the next reading, the manuscript J erroneously transmits ταύτη instead of ταῦτα.

death' (Westerink 56.16). In Theophilus' lemma, we find the usual expression ταῦτα οἷσι θάνατος (Dietz II 449.7).

On the basis of the variant readings in the Galenic tradition, Magdelaine (433.6) puts the so-called *cruces desperationis* in her edition of the Hippocratic text. We can, therefore, conclude that in this case Galen witnesses to the existence of some variants, which are not attested either in the tradition of the commented text or in other commentaries on the same text.

1.4. Galen, *In Hipp. Aph.* 5.36

The fourth and last case study is provided by aphorism 36, which deals with gynaecological problems and anomalies of the menstruations in particular (Kühn XVIIb 825.12–18, modified):

5.36 [cf. Littré IV 544.7–8]

13 Γυναικὶ καταμήνια ἄχροα καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ
ἀεὶ γινόμενα καθάρσιος δεῖσθαι σημαίνει.

Κατὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἔστιν εὐρεῖν οὕτως ἔχου-
σαν τὴν λέξιν· γυναικὶ καταμήνια χρόνια καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὰ
αὐτὰ ἰόντα.

'If a woman has menstrual discharge **not of the proper colour** and irregular, it indicates that purging is called for'.

According to most manuscripts, it is possible to find the expression that reads as follows: 'if a woman has menstrual discharge **late** and irregular'.

825.13 ἄχροα Gal.codd. Gal.Syr. Gal.Ar., cf. Hipp.codd.] cf. χρόνια
Gal.Comm. (Kühn XVIIb 825.17)

Instead of the reading ἄχροα, 'not of the proper colour', in reference to the menstrual blood, Galen discusses the possible variant χρόνια 'late', which – according to him – is transmitted in many Hippocratic manuscripts. Nevertheless, similarly to what we have already seen in the case of *Aph.* 5.13 (with reference to the verb ἐμέουσι 'to vomit'), the *varia lectio* χρόνια is not attested at all in the Byzantine manuscript tradition of Hippocrates' *Aphorisms*. Moreover, χρόνια in the lemma is not even attested in any Galenic manuscripts, which unanimously preserve the variant ἄχροα.

Although both Stephanus and Theophilus transmit the reading ἄχροα in their lemmata, Stephanus nevertheless testifies to the existence of the variant χρόνια following Galen (Westerink 116.8–9).

2. Conclusions

In editing the lemmata of Galen's *Commentary on Aphorisms*, one should take different sources into account along with the readings of the main Galenic manuscripts (both in Greek and in the Arabic and Syriac translations, if possible).⁴⁰ 1) First of all, one should consider the Hippocratic manuscript tradition, bearing in mind that we are interested in what Galen wrote of the Hippocratic lemmata. 2) Secondly, the possible quotations of the lemma in Galen's own *Commentary on Aphorisms*. 3) Thirdly, it can happen (although it does not occur in the case studies presented above) that Galen quotes a Hippocratic aphorism in other treatises, which sometimes record readings different from those transmitted in his *Commentary*. 4) On a different level, we should also consider the tradition and the quotations of the lemmata in later commentators on the *Aphorisms*, that is, in Stephanus and Theophilus. 5) Finally, it is worth mentioning the importance of quotations of the lemmata in other authors (that is, their indirect tradition).

For the evaluation of these different sources, the editor is expected to establish in advance the guidelines for writing a good critical apparatus, which should be comprehensive and, at the same time, not too 'heavy'. Among the five sources listed above, which are different from the proper tradition of the lemmata of Galen's *Commentary*, the first three (that means, Galen's other quotations and the direct tradition of Hippocrates) deserve special attention when compiling the critical apparatus, provided that they offer readings that are significant for Galen's text of the lemmata. These sources can help us to reconstruct the philological work done by Galen and to distinguish what he read in the

⁴⁰ The comparison with the Syriac and Arabic texts is not always possible, since in many cases the translation does not exactly correspond to a specific Greek word.

Hippocratic manuscripts from what he wrote. In this way, we can even try to detect the different stages of the composition and corrections of the *Commentary*. There could be two different solutions for giving an account of these three different sources and, at the same time, distinguishing them from the proper tradition of Galen's lemmata. The first solution is the one I provisionally used in this paper: to mention these sources in the same critical apparatus of Galen's tradition, while introducing them through the abbreviation 'cf.' (confer). A second solution is to make a specific apparatus for the lemmata separated from the proper critical apparatus: it would make clear that all the variant readings of the lemmata that occur in the Hippocratic tradition and in Galen's texts are interesting for the history of Hippocratic lemmata, but not for establishing Galen's text.

The last two sources listed above (namely, other commentators of the *Aphorisms* and the indirect tradition) are to be considered on a different level. It is not necessary that the editor mentions them in the *apparatus criticus*, unless they strictly refer to Galen's *Commentary on Aphorisms*; it will be rather sufficient, that the editor discusses them in the annotations to the text. Furthermore, for the indirect tradition of the *Aphorisms*, it remains difficult to assess whether the authors are quoting the *Aphorisms* from Hippocrates or they are looking at the lemmata of Galen's *Commentary*.

By following these guidelines, the editor will probably be able to carry on her or his own philological work on the complex direct (and indirect) tradition of Galen's *Commentary on Hippocratic Aphorisms* and, at the same time, to reconstruct Galen's careful philological practice on the Hippocratic text.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Celsus, *Quae supersunt*, ed. F. Marx (Corpus Medicorum Latinorum I), Leipzig, Berlin: Teubner 1915.
- Celsus, *On Medicine. Books I–IV*, trans. W. G. Spencer, Cambridge (Massachusetts), London: Harvard University Press 1935.
- Galenus, *De crisis. Überlieferung und Text*, ed. B. Alexanderson, Göteborg: Almqvist & Wiksell 1967.

- Galenus, *Tome I. Introduction générale, Sur l'ordre de ses propres livres; Sur ses propres livres; Que l'excellent médecin est aussi philosophe*, ed. and trans. V. Boudon-Millot, Paris: Les Belles Lettres 2007.
- Galenus, *Opera Omnia*, I–XX, ed. and trans. C. G. Kühn, Leipzig: C. Knobloch 1821–1833.
- Galenus, *Selected Works. Translated with an Introduction and Notes*, trans. P. Singer, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press 1997.
- Galenus, *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum Librum III commentaria III*, ed. E. Wenkebach (Corpus Medicorum Graecorum V 10,2,1), Leipzig: Berlin: Teubner 1936.
- Hippocrates, *Tome VI 2. Du régime des maladies aiguës, Appendice, De l'aliment, De l'usage des liquides*, ed. and trans. R. Joly, Paris: Les Belles Lettres 1972.
- Hippocrates, *Vol. IV*, ed. and trans. W. H. S. Jones, Cambridge (Massachusetts), London: Harvard University Press 1931.
- Hippocrates, *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, ed. and trans. É. Littré, I–X, Paris: Jean-Baptiste Baillière 1839–1861.
- Hippocrates, *Histoire du texte et édition critique, traduite et commentée, des Aphorismes d'Hippocrate*, I–III, ed. and trans. C. Magdelaine, Thèse pour le Doctorat Nouveau Régime, Paris La Sorbonne 1994 (unpublished).
- Hippocrates, *Une version syriaque des Aphorismes d'Hippocrate*, ed. and trans. H. Pognon, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich 1903.
- Hunayn Ibn Ishāq, *Book 1 of Hunayn Ibn Ishāq's translation of Galen's Commentary on the Hippocratic Aphorisms*, ed. P. Pormann and T. Mimura (2017) (<http://dx.doi.org/10.3927/51689293>).
- Stephanus Atheniensis, *In Hippocratis Aphorismos commentaria V–VI*, ed. L. G. Westerink (Corpus Medicorum Graecorum XI 1,3,3), Berlin: Teubner 1995.
- Theophilus, *Scholia in Hippocratem et Galenum*, II, ed. F. R. Dietz, Königsberg 1834.

Secondary Literature

- K. Bardong (1942), 'Beiträge zu Hippokrates- und Galenforschung', in *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, I, pp. 577–640.
- V. Boudon-Millot (2012), *Galien de Pergame. Un médecin grec à Rome*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- L. O. Bröcker (1885), 'Die Methoden Galens in der literarischen Kritik', in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 40, pp. 415–38.

- T. Dorandi (2007), *Nell'officina dei classici. Come lavoravano gli autori antichi*, Rome: Carocci.
- T. Dorandi (2014), 'Ancient ἐκδόσεις. Further Lexical Observations on Some Galen's Texts', in *Lexicon Philosophicum*, 2, pp. 1–23.
- G. Ecça (2018), 'Il Parisinus Suppl. gr. 447 e il Vaticanus gr. 279 testimoni dei Commenti agli Aforismi ippocratici', in *Galenos*, 12, pp. 11–28.
- R. Flemming (2008), 'Commentary', in R. J. Hankinson (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 323–54.
- S. A. Gurd (2011), 'Galen on ἐκδόσεις', in T. Schmidt & P. Fleury (eds), *Perceptions of the Second Sophistic and its Times*, Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, pp. 169–84.
- A. E. Hanson (1998), 'Galen: Author and Critic', in G. W. Most (ed.), *Editing texts / Texte edieren*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, pp. 22–53.
- S. Ihm (2002), *Clavis commentariorum der antiken medizinischen Texte*, Leiden, Boston, Cologne: Brill.
- J. Ilberg (1889), 'Über die Schriftstellerei von Klaudios Galenos. I', in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 44, pp. 207–39.
- J. A. López Férez (1991), 'Acerca del comentario de Galeno a los Aforismos Hipocráticos', in J. A. López Férez (ed.), *Galeno: Obra, pensamiento e influencia*. Coloquio internacional celebrado en Madrid, 22–25 de Marzo de 1988, Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educacion a Distancia, pp. 161–203.
- J. A. López Férez (1992), 'Galeno, lector y crítico de manuscritos', in A. Garzya (ed.), *Tradizione e ecdotica dei testi medici tardoantichi e bizantini*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Anacapri 29–31 ottobre 1990, Naples: D'Auria editore, pp. 197–209.
- D. Manetti & A. Roselli (1994), 'Galeno commentatore di Ippocrate', in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II 37.2: Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 1529–1635.
- J. Mansfeld (1994), *Prolegomena. Questions to be Settled Before the Study of an Author or a Text*, Leiden, New York, Cologne: Brill.
- P. Manuli (1983), 'Lo stile del commento. Galeno e la tradizione ippocratica', in F. Lasserre & Ph. Mudry (eds), *Formes de pensée dans la Collection hippocratique*, Geneva: Droz, pp. 471–82.
- I. von Müller (1891), 'Galen als Philologe', in *Verhandlungen der 41. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner*, München: Straub, pp. 80–91.

- D. W. Peterson (1977), 'Observations on the Chronology of the Galenic Corpus', in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 51, pp. 484–95.
- F. Pfaff (1932), 'Rufus von Samaria. Hippokrateskommentator und Quelle Galens', in *Hermes*, 67, pp. 356–59.
- A. Roselli (2012), 'Galeno e la filologia del II secolo', in E. Bona, C. Lévy & G. Magnaldi (eds), *Vestigia notitiae. Scritti in memoria di Michelangelo Giusta*, Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, pp. 63–80.
- Ch. Savino (2012), 'Per una nuova edizione del Commento agli Aforismi di Galeno: la tradizione greca', in I. Garofalo, S. Fortuna, A. Lami & A. Roselli (eds), *Sulla tradizione indiretta dei testi medici greci: i commenti*. Atti del IV seminario internazionale di Siena, Certosa di Pontignano, Pisa, Rome: Fabrizio Serra editore, pp. 29–57.
- W. D. Smith (1979), *The Hippocratic Tradition*, Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press.
- H. von Staden (2002), 'A Woman Does Not Become Ambidextrous. Galen and the Culture of Scientific Commentary', in R. K. Gibson & Ch. Shuttleworth Kraus (eds), *The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 109–39.
- H. von Staden (2009), 'Staging the Past, Staging Oneself: Galen on Hellenistic Exegetical Traditions', in Ch. Gill, T. Whitmarsh & J. Wilkins (eds), *Galen and the World of Knowledge*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 132–56.
- H. Stevenson (1885), *Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, Città del Vaticano: ex Typographeo Vaticano.
- L. Totelin (2009), 'Galen's Use of Multiple Manuscript Copies in his Pharmacological Treatises', in L. Taub & A. Doody (eds), *Authorial Voices in Greco-Roman Technical Writing*, Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, pp. 81–92.
- N. G. Wilson (1987), 'Aspects of the Transmission of Galen', in G. Cavallo (ed.), *Le strade del testo*, Bari: Adriatica editrice, pp. 47–64.

Abstract

Galen's *Commentary on the Hippocratic Aphorisms* was at first addressed to a restricted circle of friends or pupils, and some years later probably reworked by Galen himself for publication. The aim of my contribution is to underscore the problems that a modern editor of Galen's *Commentary* has to deal with when editing the Hippocratic *lemmata*. The first point to investigate is Galen's philological work: often unsatisfied with the readings transmitted in the Hippocratic manuscripts, he introduced corrections into Hippocrates' text in his *Commentary*. I argue that the task of a modern editor of Galen is to edit the *lemmata* as Galen in all probability wrote them in the last version of his *Commentary*. In order to do that, it is important to distinguish what Galen wrote in his book from what Galen read in the copies of the Hippocratic text available to him. We wonder whether Galen merely transcribed what he read in most of the Hippocratic manuscripts or whether he wrote the *lemmata* according to his own understanding and corrections. The situation is further complicated by the fact that Galen could have recorded (perhaps in the margins of the text) all the variants he took into consideration. In order to better explain these kinds of problems, which the modern editor has to deal with, in this paper I present four case studies from Galen's *Commentary on Aphorisms*, book 5.

EDITING LEMMAS IN THE SECOND BOOK OF PROCLUS' *TIMAEUM*

The five extant books of Proclus' vast commentary on the *Timaeus* are among the most important indirect sources for the critical text of Plato's famous dialogue.¹ The lemmas contained in the second book, which set the stage for cosmological and cosmogonic discussions, cover only a small part of the original Greek text (from 27c1 to 31b2). This part of the text (the very beginning of Timaeus' long speech) is subdivided by Proclus in fifty-one sections of irregular extent, and the length of Proclus' commentary on the different sections varies from less than one to more than ten pages in the Diehl edition.

The *Timaeus* lemmas presented by Proclus provide the editor of the commentary with a representative set of all the possible methodological and ecdotic issues involved by this philosophical genre. The lemmas taken from Plato's dialogue will sometimes be presented in an abbreviated way; they will sometimes offer readings that are strikingly different from the ones attested by the Platonic manuscript tradition; the readings of the lemmas will sometimes differ from the ones taken into account (and at times discussed) by Proclus in the commentary sections; and, in some cases, Proclus himself shows perfect awareness of the existence of different possible readings, evaluating variants in what one could call an *ante litteram* philological analysis of the constitution of Plato's text. Furthermore, in editing the lemmas, one should never

¹ The present article is the revised version of a paper presented at the Leuven international conference *Sicut dicit... A Methodological Workshop*. The authors would like to acknowledge Tiziano Dorandi for his valuable remarks on an earlier draft of this text, and Gerard Boter and Gijsbert Jonkers for sharing the results of their collation of the principal manuscripts of the *Timaeus*.

forget a fundamental principle of this specific editorial practice: what one is editing here is Proclus' Plato only; that is, one is not editing the text of Plato's dialogue as it is attested by the direct tradition, and is therefore not supposed to change the Plato text attested by Proclus on the ground of Plato's manuscript tradition (except, of course, in case of *uoces nihili* or clearly unbearable readings); which means that the editor of Proclus' lemmas is supposed to print the text which is likely to have been read by Proclus, even when its readings are unmistakably worse than the ones attested by the direct tradition. In editing lemmas, Proclus' editor is therefore bound to provide Plato's editor with the most faithful representation of the state of Plato's text that was known and built upon by Proclus. The reader or editor of Plato is thus put in the best possible condition to evaluate the text and its *uariae lectiones* in their entire diachronic development.²

We are now in quite favourable conditions to carry out a proper analysis of the text of Proclus' lemmas. As the textual tradition of the *Timaeus* has been thoroughly examined by Gijsbert Jonkers (2017), and as the manuscript witnesses of Proclus' *In Timaeum* are now also studied in full, in view of a new edition of the text by Gerd Van Riel, we are able to make a solid philological collation of the text of the *Timaeus* as it is preserved by the direct tradition against the lemmas attested by Proclus.

Before studying the lemmas of Proclus' text in detail, some preliminary remarks are in place concerning the manuscript tradition of Proclus' commentary and of Plato's dialogue.

1. *The Manuscript Tradition of the Second Book of Proclus' Commentary on the Timaeus*

Let us start with a brief presentation of the manuscript witnesses of Proclus' commentary, which are, generally speaking, less known,

² There is obviously nothing new in this. Methodological issues involving the editing of lemmas presented by Greek and Latin, ancient and medieval commentaries on philosophical texts have often been discussed at length, with respect to very different authors and texts. We will limit ourselves to mentioning the recent book of M. E. Kotwick (2016) on the text of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* attested by Alexander of Aphrodisias's commentary, and the excellent work of F. Bossier (1992) on the lemmas of Aristotle's *De caelo* offered by Moerbeke's Latin translation of Simplicius' commentary on the treatise.

and much less studied, than the manuscripts of the *Timaeus*. The new critical edition of the text of the second book of Proclus' commentary mainly relies on the following manuscript witnesses:

- (1) Marcianus Graecus 195 (**M**), assigned by Diehl to the late 14th century/15th century. Diehl's dating is to be revised: the manuscript was written in the first half of the 14th century.³ The manuscript is heavily mutilated: many quires have been lost, and were replaced, in the 15th c., by copying the lost text from other extant witnesses. Hence, **M** can be seen as a primary witness only for the extant quires of the original manuscript (i.e., for the second book: 1.211.20–294.13 and 1.347.17 until the end of book II).
- (2) Parisinus Graecus 1840 (**P**), 16th century.
- (3) Leidensis Vossianus F.100 (**Vs**), a medieval Latin translation of books I–III, preserved in a manuscript dating from the 16th century. This translation belongs to the same family as **P**. It is even most probably a direct translation of the exemplar of **P**. We use the siglum π for this branch of the tradition (for book II: the consent of **P** and **Vs**).
- (4) Neapolitanus III D 28 (**N**), copied in 1314 by Ioannes Catrarius,⁴ probably in Thessalonica.
- (5) Chisianus R VIII 58 (**H**). The dating of this manuscript, attributed to the 13th century by Diehl, should be revised, as Lidia Perria dated it to the 11th–12th c.⁵ The manuscript, which is the only independent witness that contains all five books, is mutilated at the beginning, due to the loss of four quires. It has been thoroughly revised by a hand (**H**²), slightly more recent than that

³ H. D. Saffrey, in a note preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana and first published by Mariella Menchelli, identifies the scribe of the Marc. Gr. 195 with the Byzantine monk Stylianos Choumnos. According to Dr Menchelli (whom we would like to thank here for the following precious remark, which we received *per litteras* on September 25, 2014), the identification suggested by Saffrey has to be reconsidered: the hand at work in **M** appears to be much more similar to that of Isaac Argyrios, or to that of another anonymous copyist working with Nicephorus Gregoras. This last claim is very likely to be the correct one; the dating proposed by Saffrey, however, stands. About Stylianos Choumnos, whose handwriting can be found in the *subscriptio* of the Oxoniensis Bodl. Laud. Gr. 18 (a manuscript commissioned by Ioannes Kontostephanos, Stylianos' teacher, and containing Proclus' *Platonic Theology* and *Elements of Theology*), see *RGK*, I, entry no. 367.

⁴ For more information about John Catrarius see Bianconi 2005 and Bianconi 2006.

⁵ See Megna 2003, p. 99.

of the first scribe.⁶ **H**² is the hand of a scholar who introduced an enormous amount of *rasurae* and corrections, often of his own finding, by reconstructing the text *ad sensum*, but also by introducing good readings he shares with other manuscript witnesses, and which he will most probably have taken over from the model of **H**. The impact of **H** and **H**² on the tradition has been decisive, as nearly all the *descripti* (in particular those that lie at the basis of the *editio princeps* by Grynaeus in 1534, and of the 1847 edition by Schneider) derive from **H**. Diehl, who did not study **H**, misunderstood the relationship between the manuscripts of this branch, but by his inclusion of the Grynaeus edition in his collations, many good readings of **H**² made their way to Diehl's text and apparatus. For indeed, most of the peculiarities of the branch called '*recensio uulgata*' by Diehl⁷ are in fact readings introduced by **H**².

The earliest copy of **H** is Marcianus Graecus 194 (**Z**). Diehl hesitatingly assigned it to the 15th century; Elpidio Mioni⁸ correctly proposed to date it to the late 13th century, but it is now possible to be even more accurate. As Mariella Menchelli has shown,⁹ one

⁶ See Van Riel 2019. The hand of **H**² has been described (using the label **Chis**²) first by Menchelli 2015, p. 152.

⁷ The *recensio uulgata* was not much appreciated by Diehl: see, for instance, p. XXXVII: '... lectionem igitur uulgatam ... in apparatu, quem textui subiei critico, merito me praetermisisse censeo, ne uulgatae erroribus lacunis nugis adhibitis ultra modum increscerent adnotationes'; see also p. XXXVIII: 'quaecumque autem ex illa recensione [scil. uulgata] uel etiam e singulis classis uulgatae membris hausimus antiquissima esse non possunt, coniecturis potius, quales nos quoque inuenire possumus, illa omnia explicari posse omnino necessarium est praeter paucos ... locos'. However, in the Introduction to the 3rd volume of his Proclus edition, Diehl seems open, at least partially, to reconsider his previous claim. According to him, in the 11th century, Michael Psellos, the famous Byzantine scholar, read Proclus' commentary in two manuscripts, one of which apparently belonged to the *uulgata*. Such claim should of course be supported by stronger evidence than that provided by Diehl on the ground of his collation of Psellus' short treatise *Eis tēn ψυχογονίαν τοῦ Πλάτωνος* (ed. by Bidez 1905, p. 321 ff., and, recently, by O'Meara 1989, pp. 3–6 [under the title 'Εξήγησις τῆς ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ τοῦ Πλάτωνος μαθηματικῆς περὶ ψυχῆς ὑπάρξεως ἢ γεννήσεως]; see the 3rd volume of Diehl's edition, pp. IX–XII); moreover, one should not forget that the information available to Diehl about this branch of the tradition was often wrong and/or incomplete. In any case, it is well known that Proclus' commentary *In Timaeum* was often read in Byzantium. It was certainly part, for instance, of the so-called 'philosophical collection' (a collection of Platonic and Neoplatonic texts assembled in the 9th century in Byzantium), as the palimpsest Par. Suppl. Gr. 921 shows beyond any possible doubt.

⁸ See Mioni 1981, pp. 305–07, particularly p. 305: 'saec. XIII ex.'

⁹ See Menchelli 2010, pp. 232–35; for the dating of the manuscript, and for an exhaustive discussion of Gregorius' so-called 'ductus B', see p. 235.

of the scribes working in **Z** (the handwriting usually referred to by the siglum A) can be identified as the Patriarch Gregorius of Cyprus;¹⁰ **Z** seems to belong to the second part of his activity as a copyist (that is, to the writing phase marked by the so-called *ductus* B), and, accordingly, the dating of the manuscript is to be fixed around 1280. **Z** should therefore be considered one of the oldest extant textual witnesses of Proclus' commentary. Moreover, it contains the text of the beginning of the commentary that is now lost in its model **H**. Also at other places where the text of **H** is lost or illegible due to humidity, worms or damage, **Z** can be used as the primary stand-in.

- (6) Coislinianus Graecus 322 (**C**), assigned by Diehl to the late 11th century/early 12th century. This is, in Diehl's view, the primary source for the text of the first two books (the remaining books are missing in **C**). However, this assessment needs to be thoroughly revised. First of all, the early dating of this manuscript is wrong. The hand of this manuscript's main scribe is identical with one of those present in the famous Marcianus Graecus 481 (which is one of the most important Planudean manuscripts): it is the so-called hand B working in the *Anthologia Planudea*, datable, on the basis of the *subscriptio*, to 1299–1301. The scribe of **C** should therefore be assigned to Planudes' circle. This scribe produced a beautiful specimen of the well-known Byzantine archaizing practice that characterizes many important manuscripts from the late 13th century, typical of the monastery τῶν Ὀδηγῶν.¹¹ Secondly, and even more importantly, the idea that this manuscript is the main witness cannot be maintained. Diehl thought that **C** was the best copy of a minuscule exemplar, and that the other witnesses are all derived from a sibling of **C**, containing a recension of the text that was of lower quality than **C**.¹² Hence, it was accepted that the tradition of *In Timaeum* was binary, with **C** as the sole wit-

¹⁰ For a philological/palaeographical overview of the work of the Patriarch and the role he played in the textual transmission of classical texts in 13th century Byzantium, see at least Pérez Martín 1996, *passim*.

¹¹ See Menchelli 2014, pp. 183–87. Other manuscripts in the pages of which it is possible to find the same hand are: Plutarch's crucial Ambr. C 126 inf., a. D. 1294, copied in Planudes' *milieu*; Aelius Aristides' Laur. Plut. 60.8, previously assigned to the 11th century, but to be dated, on the ground of this new identification, to the late 13th century (around 1299); Plato's Vat. gr. 225 + 226, owned by Matthew of Ephesus; Aelius Aristides' Par. gr. 2984 + Oxon. Bodl. Canon. gr. 84. On these archaizing manuscripts see Prato 1979 and, particularly, De Gregorio & Prato 2003.

¹² See Diehl, p. VI, and the stemma, p. XLIX.

ness of one family, and all the others pertaining to a second family, inferior to **C**. Based on this view, **C** and the second family are believed to stem from two different transliterations, possibly even from two different late ancient editions of the text.¹³ However, **C** is not at all a representative of a separate family. All of the textual variants in the version of the text offered by **C** can be proven to be reactions to the text version we find in the other witnesses.¹⁴ **C** must be seen as a (sloppy) copy of a version of the text that was thoroughly revised by a Byzantine scholar, possibly Georgios Pachymeres. Most of the so-called better readings of **C** are in fact conjectures made by this corrector. The manuscript must therefore be handled with utmost cautiousness for the constitution of the text. In this revised version of Proclus' text, the text of the lemmas was also corrected on the basis of a *Timaetus* manuscript, thus making it into a (not completely trustworthy) witness of the direct, rather than of the indirect, tradition of the *Timaetus*. Of this manuscript **C**, we have one single (partial) copy: **F** = Marcianus Graecus Z.228, s. XIV.¹⁵

- (7) In the second half of the 13th c. (i.e. very early in comparison to most direct witnesses), William of Moerbeke translated a number of excerpts from the second book of Proclus' commentary.¹⁶ This translation (siglum **G**), based on a lost Greek model, represents a different branch in the tradition (which we call **γ**).

In spite of being the oldest witness for books 1 and 2, **H** is, unfortunately, not the best one. It can be shown to belong together with **N**, based on a considerable amount of common errors. **H** and **N** must, therefore, be seen as belonging to a separate branch, which we call **φ**. Of this branch, **N** is by far the best copy. The model on which the revisor of **C** has been working, can also be shown to be closely related to this branch, given the fact that **C** has many readings and errors in common with **N**, **H**, and **H**².¹⁷

For the second book of *In Timaeum*, we thus have four mutually independent branches of the tradition: **M**, **π**, **φ**, and **γ**.

¹³ See Menchelli 2015, pp. 155–56.

¹⁴ See Van Riel 2016, pp. 196–212.

¹⁵ Diehl, p. XXII, wrongly lists this manuscript as belonging to the *recensio uulgata* (i.e., the family of **H**, as we shall explain). **F** covers the text from the beginning of book 1 until 1.376.13 τοῦ δημιουργοῦ πρόνοιαν). It is a copy of **C** from 1.139.5 | ἐν τάξει προῆλθεν onwards.

¹⁶ Cf. Steel 1985, pp. 559–87.

¹⁷ Cf. Van Riel 2016, pp. 216–21.

2. *The Manuscript Tradition of Plato's Timaeus*

For the textual transmission of Plato's *Timaeus*, we may now build on the monumental study of Gijsbert Jonkers (2017). His extremely important and accurate work devoted to the textual tradition of the *Timaeus* and the *Critias* constitutes the first extensive inspection of the textual evidence ever attempted after the publication of Burnet's Oxford edition.¹⁸ The primary manuscript sources for the text of the *Timaeus* are (according to Jonkers): Parisinus Graecus 1807 (A, 9th century [c. 875 AD]);¹⁹ Parisinus Graecus 2998 (Ψ, first half of the 14th century);²⁰ Tubingensis Mb 14 (C, 11th century);²¹ Vaticanus Graecus 226 (Θ, first half of 14th century);²² Vindobonensis Phil. Graecus 21 (Y, late 13th century);²³ Vindobonensis Suppl. Gr. 39 (F, late 13th

¹⁸ The French Les Belles Lettres edition prepared by A. Rivaud shows, unfortunately, too many flaws to be considered a reliable work. In particular, Rivaud takes into account as an independent source the famous Vind. Suppl. Gr. 7 (W), a manuscript which, in its older part (11th century), is a primary witness for many Plato dialogues (it is actually the ancestor of the so-called third family of Plato manuscripts); in its more recent part (added later, during the 14th century), however, it is a *descriptus*. The *Timaeus* (added by the 14th century hand usually referred to by means of the siglum W²) belongs to the recent part of the manuscript. See the judicious remarks of Jonkers 2017 (pp. 88–89) and Carlini 2012, pp. 8–9 (which constitutes in itself an excellent, and up to date, presentation of the state of the art regarding the direct sources [which include only one, not relevant, papyrus] of the *Timaeus*). It is also to be noted that Bury's Loeb edition is based on the old text established by Orelli, Baier & Winckelmann (Zurich, 1839; on Bury, see Jonkers, 2017, p. 35, and Carlini 2012, p. 9).

¹⁹ A is one of the most famous extant Plato manuscripts. It was the Plato *codex* which belonged to Petrarch (see *Familiares* 18.2, *ad Sygerum*, a. D. 1354); it is also our oldest Plato manuscript, and it is likely to be the second part of a *Platonis opera omnia*, the first part of which is to be identified with the model of the Venetus T of Plato (*Ven. Marc. App. Class.* IV 1), a primary source for the text of Tetralogies I–VII. See, at least, on this manuscript, Saffrey 1997 and Saffrey 2007. Interested scholars can collate the manuscript by means of the really excellent reproductions provided by Omont 1908.

²⁰ On Ψ see the description and the discussion presented by Jonkers 2017, pp. 70–71, 105–24, 197–201.

²¹ C is a crucial Plato source, closely related to Aretas' famous *Bodleianus Clarkianus* B (copied by John the Calligrapher, a. D. 895), but provably independent from it in Tetralogies I–VI. Apart from A, it is the oldest extant *Timaeus* manuscript.

²² On Θ, see Ferroni 2006, pp. 74–77.

²³ Y is one of the most interesting extant Plato manuscripts. It was copied in Byzantium by a team of nine scribes coordinated by Maximus Planudes at the

century);²⁴ Vindobonensis Phil. Graecus 337 (**V**, to be dated, in the second part, to the 15th century; primary witness from 34b3 onwards).²⁵ The important Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 173 (**P**, 10th century) should also be mentioned, even though it does not attest the complete text of the dialogue, but only some *excerpta*.²⁶

The mutual relations between the mentioned manuscripts are summarized by Jonkers (2017, p. 92) as follows:

‘**A V** belong together and form one side of the tradition of the *Timaeus*, while on the other side **F C** and **g** (by this siglum I denote the collective of **Y Θ Ψ**) form a group’.

In fact, according to Jonkers, **Y Θ Ψ**

‘do not depend on one another, but derive from a common exemplar. Two different relations between **Y Θ Ψ** and **g** are possible: the first one is that **Y Θ Ψ** go back to **g** independently of one another [...] The second one is that **Θ Ψ** derive from a common exemplar which was a gemellus of **Y** [...] I have a slight preference for the first solution, but I do not want to exclude the second possibility [...] **g** is a gemellus of **C** [...] Just as **C** is independent of **A V F**, so too is **g**, which is related to **C**. **Y Θ Ψ**, therefore, are primary manuscripts’ (Jonkers 2017, p. 124).

It is however to be remarked that, as Jonkers puts it,

A and **F** are the most important manuscripts. Each has manifestly correct readings which have not been preserved in the

end of the 13th century; it presents the so-called ‘Y series’ of Plato dialogues, and, showing evident changes of source (for instance, in the *Phaedo*), it is a *Mischcodex*. See D’Acunto 1996, *passim*; Menchelli 2014, pp. 177–82.

²⁴ **F** is an independent source, going back to an independent transliteration for all the dialogues it contains (among which *Gorgias*, *Meno*, *Ion*, Tetr. VIII). It was copied, in its older part, by the so-called Anonymous Γ (also active in another Plato manuscript, the Laur. plut. 85.6); on this copyist, see at least Menchelli 2007, *passim*.

²⁵ On **V** (a manuscript containing the *Timaeus* only) see the description and the discussion presented by Jonkers 2017, pp. 87–88, 96–97, 125–32, 163–65.

²⁶ See, about **P** (an independent source for many of the dialogues it contains), the brief presentation provided by Carlini 2012, pp. 15–16, and, most importantly, Menchelli 1991, *passim*. In the *Timaeus*, **P** must be considered an indirect copy of **A**, ‘via a manuscript which was contaminated from a text near to the **Cg**-group’ (see Jonkers 2017, p. 78).

other. [...] Each represents a different line of the tradition, lines which already existed in antiquity. The task of the modern editor in fact is to choose between the different readings which **A** and **F** hand down to us. The value of **V**, **C** and **g** is far more limited; **V** stands with **A**, **C** and **g** basically side with **F**, but probably all three have been contaminated: **V** from **F C g**; **C** and **g** from **A**. [...] Moreover, in a few cases where both **A** and **F** are corrupt, either **V** or **C g** has apparently preserved (or conjectured?) the correct text (Jonkers 2017, pp. 145–46).

3. *Proclus' Lemmas and Plato's Text*

Let us have a look, now, at some issues which an editor of Proclus' Platonic lemmas has to face. From a methodological point of view, three questions should be answered. (1) How should a Proclus editor use the original Plato text in order to establish which was Proclus' Plato (that is, which was the Platonic text read by Proclus, reproduced in his lemmas, and discussed in his commentary)? (2) How should a Proclus editor deal with the discrepancies between the Plato text of the lemmas and the one he happens to quote while commenting it? (3) What is the value of Proclus' lemmas and commentary for an editor of Plato's *Timaeus*?

In general, it should be noted that Proclus does not just slavishly reproduce the text of Plato, but reads him in a critical way, also occasionally getting into issues of textual criticism when he deems it necessary, and discussing the constitution of Plato's text. However, Proclus confines this critical attitude to his comments, without apparently tampering with the text of the lemmas themselves. In discussing *uariae lectiones* he gives some precious philological clues about the readings of his predecessors (as we shall see below).

Before discussing some examples, we should add three additional points about the transmission of Proclus' lemmas in particular.

1. In the second book (in all manuscripts except **C**), the lemmas are all quoted in full, whereas some of the longer ones in book I are abbreviated by introducing the characteristic expression *ἕως τοῦ*.²⁷

²⁷ For this usage, see Bossier 1992, pp. 61–397.

2. The revisor of **C** extended the use of $\xi\omega\varsigma$ τοῦ to nearly all lemmas, obviously because he had the text of the *Timaeus* available.²⁸ From his own Plato manuscript, he also introduced corrections to the remaining text of the lemmas. This manuscript was closely related to **Y** of the direct tradition of Plato (Vindobonensis Phil. Gr. 21).²⁹
3. **H²**, the learned corrector of **H**, occasionally revised the lemmas on the basis of a Plato manuscript he had available, and which was closely related to **A** of the direct tradition of the *Timaeus* (Paris. Gr. 1807). Like the corrector of **C**, **H²** thus introduces a contamination into the lemmas (although, in principle, it remains possible that he is restoring the reading of the model of **H**).³⁰

Bearing this in mind, we may now turn to a more detailed discussion of some of the lemmas.

- (1) 1.341.25–342.2: Τοῦ μὲν οὖν μονίμου καὶ βεβαίου καὶ μετὰ νοῦ
[|]²⁶ καταφανοῦς μονίμους καὶ ἀμεταπτώτους, καθ’ ὅσον [|]^{342.1} οἶόν
 τε ἀνελέγκτοις προσήκει λόγοις εἶναι καὶ ἀνι[|]κῆτοις· τούτου δὲ
 μηδὲν ἐλλείπειν = *Tim.* 29b5-c1

Of the [reality that is] stable and reliable and transparent to intellect the accounts are stable and unaltering, and to the extent and possibility that it is fitting for accounts to be irrefutable and invincible, there should be nothing failing from [the achievement of] this, [Transl. Runia]

1.341.25 μετὰ **P N H**: μὴ τὰ **C** | 341.26 καταφανοῦς ...
 342.2 τούτου **P N H**: καταφανοῦς ἕως τοῦ· τούτου **C** | 341.26
 καταφανοῦς **N H**: καταφανές **P** | 342.1 οἶόν τε **H²**, Platonis **A F**
C et Proclus 1.313.3: τε **P N H**, Platonis **V g**: οἶόν τε καὶ Bur-
 net | ἀνελέγκτοις ... λόγοις **P N H**, Platonis **A V F g**: ἀνελέγκτους

²⁸ Diehl 1903, pp. 246–69, noted that this version in **C** cannot be the one of the archetype of the tradition. Supposing for a while that the full version of the lemmas were to be seen as produced by a corrector, while the abbreviated form was the original one, Diehl gives the following decisive argument: ‘Warum ergänzte nun aber der Interpolator nur die ῥήσεις des zweiten Buches vollständig, die des ersten nur stückweise, bisweilen nur um wenige Worten [...]?’ Zu diesem mehr äusserlichen Bedenken gesellen sich innere Gründe, welche die Fassung der Lemmata in **C** als *nicht ursprünglich*, d.h. *dem Archetypus aller Hss. nicht angehörig erscheinen lassen* [we emphasize]. For the mentioned ‘innere Gründe’ see pp. 248–50 in the same paper.

²⁹ See Van Riel 2016, pp. 212–15.

³⁰ See Van Riel 2019, pp. 311–12.

T^{pc}, Platonis **C A²** | 1–2 ἀνικήτοις **P N H**, Platonis **A**: *neque conuinci potest* Cic.: *inexpugnabilis* Chalc.: ἀνίκητους **T^{pc}**, Platonis **C A²**: ἀκινήτοις Platonis **V F g**. Cf. 1.343.13–14: νοῦς οὖν ὁ μόνος ἀνίκητος omnes codd. | δεῖ **C**, Platonis **A V F Y Ψ**: δὴ **P N**, Platonis **C Θ**: δὲ **H**, Platonis **P A^{2sl}** (cf. Jonkers 2017, p. 120 n. 13; 151; 203)

Due to the presence of a vast lacuna in the Marc. Gr. 195, no reading of **M** is available for this passage.³¹ As usual, **C** presents a shortened version of the lemma: καταφανοῦς ἕως τοῦ· τούτου. In the Burnet edition, the reading οἶόν τε καὶ (29b7) is attributed to Platonis **F**, but that is not confirmed by Jonkers' collations. The text as printed by Burnet must thus be seen as Burnet's own conjecture. Concerning the reading ἀνικήτοις (as given by **P N H**, Platonis **A**) one can be certain that this was Proclus' version, as it is repeated by Proclus himself at 1.343.13–14.³² The direct tradition is not unanimous, however: **V**, **F** and Jonkers' group **g** do have ἀκινήτοις. Next, the reading δεῖ at 342.2, which for the Proclus text is only present in **C**, is certainly correct. The correspondence between **P** and **N** (belonging to different branches) reveals that the error δὴ probably dates back to the common ancestor of the tradition (unless the two scribes made the same error by internal dictation), and that the reading of **C** is the result of correction (or conjecture). Finally, the variant ἀνελέγκτους λόγους (instead of the dative form), introduced as a correction on the basis of Platonis **A²** by a corrector of **T** (Paris. Gr. 1839), is certainly erroneous. It is the likely outcome of the common construction of the impersonal verb προσήκει with infinitive (the subject of which is, obviously, an accusative).

³¹ In Diehl's apparatus the place of the missing parts in **M** is always taken by **N**.

³² See also the same adjectives paired by Proclus in the 5th book of his commentary *In Parmenidem* (994.20–23 Steel): ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Τίμαιος εἶρηκεν ὡς ὁ μὲν περὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν λόγος οὐκ ἔστι μόνιμος οὐδὲ ἀραρός, ἀλλὰ εἰκαστικός, ὁ δὲ περὶ τῶν νοητῶν ἀκίνητος καὶ ἀνελέγκτος. It is to be remarked that the Oxford editors of *In Parm.* suggest that, on the very ground of our *In Tim.* parallel, ἀκίνητος could possibly be amended to ἀνίκητος in the passage from the *Parmenides* commentary (see the *apparatus fontium ad loc.*: 'ἀκίνητος pro ἀνίκητος?'), which would indeed make sense in our eyes. This solution is explicitly rejected in the recent Budé edition of *in Parm.* book 5 (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2014; see. pp. 156–57 n. 6).

- (2) 1.227.4–5: Τί τὸ ὄν ἀεί, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον, καὶ τί τὸ |⁵ γενόμενον
μέν, ὃν δὲ οὐδέποτε; = *Tim.* 27d6–28a1

What is that which always is and has no becoming, and what is that which came into being but never is being? [Transl. Runia]³³

1.227.5 γενόμενον **M P N H C**: γιγνόμενον Plato et Proclus in commento (cf. 1.233.8; 233.19; 240.1; 241.10–11; 241.13; 1.275.13) | μέν **M P N H C**, Simplicius et Platonis **V F g**: μὲν ἀεὶ Platonis **A C**, Eusebius (et Burnet; cf. Jonkers 2017, p. 134).

Regarding the presence of ἀεί after μέν, there is no difficulty at all in the constitution of the text of the lemma. Proclus is not omitting the adverb; he simply does not find it in the text of the *Timaeus* he is reading and quoting. This is so clear that somewhat later, during the discussion of the same passage (1.233.19), Proclus introduces a problem which was already debated: διὰ τί οὖν, φασί, μὴ προσέθηκε τὸ ἀεὶ καὶ τῷ γιγνόμενον, ὥσπερ τῷ ὄν, ἢ τὸ ποτέ, ἵνα κατὰ πᾶν πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ ὄν ἀντιθέτως ἔχη; (‘Why then, interpreters ask, did he [Plato] not add the [word] “always” to “that which comes into being”, just as he did to “being”, or add the [word] “at a point in time”, so that it would be completely antithetical to “that which always is”?; translation by Runia).³⁴ Now, as is made evident by our short apparatus, the Platonic textual tradition (direct *and* indirect) is divided: the reading ἀεί is supported by **A C** (followed by Burnet), while the adverb is not present in **V F g**; similarly, Simplicius and others side with Proclus in omitting ἀεί, while others have the same reading as **A C**.³⁵ The editor of the *Timaeus* cannot therefore

³³ See, on this Proclus lemma, Diehl 1903, pp. 250, 253; Festugière, p. 61 n. 2; R.-S. p. 65 n. 131, with reference to Burnet’s critical text and to the objections raised by Whittaker 1969, passim; Tulli 2012, pp. 36–38. See also Cornford 1937, p. 22; Dillon 1989, pp. 57–60; Brisson 1994, p. 229 n. 96.

³⁴ Proclus’ response to the question is the following (233.20–24): ἢ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν φύσιν τοῦ γιγνομένου ποικίλην οὖσαν ὁ Πλάτων ἀπιδὼν ἐμηχανήσατο καὶ τὸ ποτέ καὶ τὸ ἀεὶ τοῦ γιγνομένου περιέλων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὅλα γίγνεται ἀεὶ, τὰ δὲ μέρη ποτέ (‘We might suggest that Plato had in mind the variegated nature of the realm of becoming when he engineered the removal of the [qualifications] “always” and “at a point in time”, for the wholes are always in a state of becoming, while the parts come into being at a certain point in time’ [translation Runia]).

³⁵ Among the authors who omit ἀεί at least the following can be listed: Sextus Empiricus (*Adv. Dogm.* 1.142); Philoponus (*De aet.* 6.26, p. 205.17–18 Rabe);

build on traditional data in order to make a choice: the two solutions are syntactically possible, and equally well attested. From a philological point of view, one could certainly tend to think that someone has added *ἀεὶ* for stylistic reasons, in order to produce the very same parallelism demanded by the 'interpreters' mentioned by Proclus; otherwise, one could consider the possibility of an 'ideological' emendation, as Whittaker³⁶ does, in whose opinion 'the insertion of *ἀεὶ* would be favoured by those who held that the universe had no beginning and that consequently, as Xenocrates had maintained, the account of the creation in the *Timaeus* is not to be understood literally, but rather as a pedagogical aid to the comprehension of the structure of the universe'. This is certainly possible, the *Timaeus* having often been used in a creative manner by readers in order to make it endorse their own views about the very nature or the origin of the universe. The problem is that one cannot rule out, *a priori*, the possibility that a short adverb like *ἀεὶ* was unwittingly omitted at some stage of the textual tradition. The task of the *Timaeus* editor is hard, here. Burnet (maybe on the ground of the authority of A) and the commentaries on the dialogue prepared by Cornford and Brisson agree in accepting the adverb; on the other hand, Runia, in his Proclus translation, seems to share Whittaker's concerns. There is no way, in our opinion, to provide a conclusive solution for the issue at hand. What could possibly make us tend to accept the reading attested by Proclus is the fact that the commentator himself refers to other interpreters who discussed the problem, without mentioning any reading that

Simplicius (*In Cael.* 104.5 ff.; 297.15–16; 299.7–8 Heiberg; *In Ph.* 135.10–11; 137.1; 1154.17–18 Diels); Olympiodorus (*In Phd.* 13.1, p. 74.5–6 Norvin); see also Cicero (*quod gignatur nec umquam sit*). Authors quoting the passage with the adverb: Eusebius (*PE* 11.9); Philoponus (*In de an.* 72.63 ff. Hayduck; on Philoponus, who attests *ἀεὶ* elsewhere too, see Dillon 1989, p. 60). See the (not exhaustive) list offered by Whittaker 1969, pp. 181–82. In Dillon's view (pp. 62–63), Plotinus (who, however, does *never* quote the passage *verbatim*) could support the genuinity of *ἀεὶ* too. It is also to be remarked that Whittaker spotted in A some dots, added, in his opinion, by the first scribe in order to reproduce its model, which (again, in Whittaker's opinion) had cancelled the adverb by means of dots. Dillon 1989 also builds on Whittaker's findings, which, on the other hand, have not been taken over, or even discussed, by Jonkers 2017.

³⁶ See, for his discussion of the passage, Whittaker 1969, *passim*, and Whittaker 1973, pp. 387–88.

had ἀεί; this means (*pace* Whittaker)³⁷ that Proclus *did not know* of any reference to the *Timaeus* text that had the ἀεί.

This passage also provides us with a fine example of the problems one has to deal with when comparing the text of the lemma with that occasionally quoted in the commentary. In fact, all Proclus manuscripts read γενόμενον at 1.227.5 (that is, in the lemma), while the manuscript tradition of Plato agrees in reading γιγνόμενον. Strikingly enough, when Proclus quotes the same passage at 1.233.8 (but also, again, at 1.233.19 and elsewhere) to explain, by means of a rather long discussion, the philosophical meaning of the participle, all Proclus manuscripts attest twice the present (and not the aorist) form. This cannot be the result of chance: it is not an occasional choice, nor a mistake on the part of the commentator. One could deem it necessary, in this situation, to correct the text of the lemma; one could even follow Whittaker in deeming that ‘polemical considerations on the part of adherents of the literal interpretation of the *Timaeus* may have been responsible for the alteration of the vulgar form γινόμενον which commonly occurs in citation of this text to γενόμενον’ (it would therefore be another case of ideological emendation). Diehl follows, in both cases, the *consensus codicum*, which is likely to be the safest way to deal with such an issue. Proclus’ inconsistency remains, however, quite striking.

With regard to possible discrepancies between Proclus *in lemmate* and Proclus *in commento*, two more passages should be discussed, in which our new examination of the manuscripts yields a different insight than the one that underlies Diehl’s edition:

- (3) 1.359.20–21: Ἀγαθὸς ἦν, ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐ²¹δέποτε ἐγγίνεται φθόνος. = *Tim.* 29e1–2

He was good, and in the good no jealousy ever arose in regard to anything. [Transl. Share]

1.359.21 ἐγγίνεται **M P H** et Proclus in *commento* (cf. 1.362.18; 2.7.22; cf. et 1.324.6), ἐγγίγνεται Plato: ἐγγίγνετο **C**, Diehl: ἐγγίγνεται **N**

³⁷ See, on this important point, the judicious remarks of Dillon 1989, p. 61 n. 26.

Diehl's choice to follow the reading of **C** (ἐγγίγνεται) resulted in a divergence between Proclus' lemma and his references *in commento*. However, on the basis of the evidence from **M P H** (and also **N**), and from Proclus *in commento*, one should consider **C**'s reading as corrupt (probably as an occasional mistake of the scribe of **C** or of his model), whilst **M P H** reproduce the correct version of the text.

The second passage is slightly more complicated:

- (4) 1.258.9–11: Πᾶν δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ γιγνόμενον ὑπ' αἰτίου τινὸς ἐξ ¹⁰ ἀνάγκης γίνεσθαι· παντὶ γὰρ ἀδύνατον χωρὶς αἰ¹¹τίου γένεσιν ἔχειν. = *Tim.* 28a4–6

Again, all that which comes into being necessarily comes into being by [the agency of] some cause, for it is impossible for anything to have becoming without a cause. [Transl. Runia]

1.258.9 αὐτὸ τὸ **P N H C**: αὐτὸ τὸ **M** | γιγνόμενον **C P N H**: γνόμενον (*sic*) **M** | 11 ἔχειν **M P N H C**, Stob., Eus., Philop.: σχεῖν schol. **C**, Plato et Proclus in commento (1.258.21 et 1.258.29)

Except for a scholion added in the margin of **C**,³⁸ the Proclus manuscripts are unanimous in reading ἔχειν in l. 11, whereas a few lines further down in the commentary, where Proclus twice repeats the verbatim quote of the entire lemma, all manuscripts have σχεῖν (1.258.21 and 1.258.29).³⁹ This divergence is striking, certainly because the three quotations are given in the same context, occupying no more than 20 lines of text. It would be hard to believe that Proclus would not have noticed the difference. If one wants to avoid assumption that the lemmas (or at least

³⁸ The scholion (written in the lower margin of fol. 217^r) is not printed by Diehl, nor referred to in his apparatus. It is a schematic rendering of a syllogism, and reads as follows:

πάν τὸ γινόμενον ἀδύνατον χωρὶς αἰτίου γένεσιν σχεῖν ὑπ' αἰτίου τινὸς ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίνεται.

The text is most probably quoted from the Plato manuscript (possibly even the scholion itself is just taken over from the margin of that manuscript) used by the scholar who made the recension of **C**.

³⁹ At 1.258.16, Proclus has ἔχειν, but that should not bother one too much, as in this case the quote is not literal anyways.

this lemma) reproduce a different text than that of Proclus, the only viable explanation is that, in this lemma, the text is corrupt. We are inclined to believe that, indeed, ἔχειν may be a very old uncial error, going back to the archetype, where a copyist has read EXEIN instead of ΣXEIN.

Let us finally have a look at one of the most interesting cases. It provides a good illustration of the ‘philological’ awareness with which the commentator works here on Plato.

- (5) 1.217.4–6: Ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς περὶ τοῦ παντὸς λόγους ποιῆσθαι πη|⁵μέλλοντας ἢ γέγονεν ἢ καὶ ἀγενές ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ παν|⁶τάπασι παραλλάττομεν. = *Tim.* 27c4–6

But for us who in some way are about to produce the accounts concerning the universe, whether it has come into being or even if it is ungenerated, unless we go entirely astray. [Transl. Runia]⁴⁰

1.217.4 περὶ τοῦ παντὸς **MPNH²**, Platonis **AF**, Philoponus, probandum censuit Festugière (p. 40 n. 1) (cf. Jonkers 2017, p. 175): περὶ παντὸς **CH**, Diehl, Platonis **VCg** | πη **MPNH**, Plato: πως **C**: non uertit Moerbeke | 5 ἡ₁ **MP**, Platonis **A²VFg**, utrum Moerbeke: ἢ **C**, Platonis **C** (cum **Ψ²Θ²**): ἡ₁ Platonis **A**: ἢ **NH**: εἰ Philoponus (*De aet. mundi* 214.8 Rabe; cf. Jonkers 2017, pp. 101 and 142; Proclus 1.275.10 in comm.) Γρ. εἰ γέγονε ἢ καὶ εἰ ἀγενές ἐστι add. i.m. **H³** | 6 παντάπασι **MPNH²C**, Platonis **A^{2sl}VF²Cg**, Philop.: πάντα Platonis **A** (cf. Jonkers 2017, p. 151) | παραλλάττομεν **PNH²C**: παραλλάττωμεν **MH**

Let us get rid, at first, of a ‘minor’ problem. Diehl follows **C** in omitting τοῦ before παντός, even though the definite article is attested by **MPNH²** (whereby Diehl refers only to **M** and **P**). The tradition of the *Timaeus* is not unanimous, inasmuch as τοῦ is also omitted by Platonis **VC** and by Jonkers’ group **g**; Platonis **A** and **F** (the two most authoritative Plato manuscripts) agree, however,

⁴⁰ See, on this Proclus lemma, Diehl 1903, pp. 252–53; Festugière, p. 40 n. 1–2 (about περὶ παντός *vs.* περὶ τοῦ παντός and ἡ *uersus* ἢ); R.-S., pp. 53–54; Whittaker 1973, passim; Dillon 1989, pp. 57–60; Tulli 2012, pp. 52–53. See also the translation by Moerbeke: *Nos autem de omni facturos* [om. πη] *sermones, utrum* [= ἢ] *genitus est, aut* [= ἢ] *ingenitus*.

in reading τοῦ παντός. On the basis of Diehl's apparatus and editorial choices, Festugière is right in remarking that the repetition of the lemma at 1.218.2 shows the same discrepancy between the Proclus manuscripts (περὶ παντός **C** *uersus* περὶ τοῦ παντός **M P H**); moreover, **M P C** agree (against **H**) in attesting the article at 1.218.25 (and 1.275.9). Yet on the basis of the evidence from other references to the text of the lemma at 1.217.12 (τοῦ **M H C**: om. **P N**), 1.219.14 (τοῦ all manuscripts), 1.219.28 (τοῦ om. **P**), and 1.220.28 (τοῦ all manuscripts), it is fair to conclude that the version of the archetype did have the article. In other words, we believe that the omission of τοῦ in **C** at 1.217.4 and 1.218.2 is due, if not to the negligence of the scribe of **C**, to a correction of the lemma from a Plato manuscript in the model of **C**, while leaving untouched the other quotations of the passage within the commentary. The omissions of the article at various places in **P**, **N**, and **H**, are trivial errors.

The most interesting thing about this lemma, however, is the way in which Proclus deals with the issue of the particles η ... η.⁴¹ Unsurprisingly, the manuscripts are not in agreement in the use of accents and breathing marks. The almost unique feature, in this passage, is that it is Proclus himself who explicitly states how the lemma is to be edited. At 1.218.28 ff. he lists three possible way of writing both η's:

1. Πάλιν τοίνυν τὸ η γέγονεν η καὶ ἀγενές ἐστιν οἱ μὲν ἐξηγήσαντο τὸ μὲν πρότερον η δασύναντες, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ψιλώσαντες, ὅσοι φασὶν αὐτὸν ἐρεῖν περὶ τοῦ παντός καθόσον γέγονεν ἀπ' αἰτίας, εἰ καὶ ἀγενές ἐστιν, ἵνα γενόμενον αὐτὸ θεωρήσαντες τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ φύσιν κατὶδωμεν. καὶ ὁ γε Πλατωνικὸς Ἀλβῖνος ἄξιόι κατὰ Πλάτωνα τὸν κόσμον ἀγένητον ὄντα γενέσεως ἀρχὴν ἔχειν (1.218.28–219.3). 'Some have interpreted the phrase by giving the first η a rough breathing and the second η a smooth breathing. They affirm that Timaeus will speak about the universe inasmuch as it has come into being from a cause, even if it is ungenerated, so that when we have observed it having come into being, we might see the nature that it possesses. The Platonist Albinus [fr. 12T Gioè] considers that in Plato's view the cosmos, though ungenerated, (also) has a principle of generation'. [Transl. Runia] According to Proclus, some interpreters (among which

⁴¹ It is on purpose that we print both η, following Festugière, without diacritics.

Albinus), read ἡ ... ἡ. This is the solution chosen by Burnet (followed by Rivaud) in his *Timaeus* edition.⁴²

2. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφοτέρα ἐδάσαναν, ἵνα λέγοι ποιήσεσθαι τοὺς περὶ τοῦ παντὸς λόγους, ἡ γέγονε καὶ ἡ ἀγενές ἐστι, τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀμαρτάνοντες, εἰ μὴ ἄρα οὕτως λέγοιεν γεγονὸς καὶ ἀγέννητον τὸ πᾶν, κατὰ μὲν τὸ εἶδος γεγονός, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τιθήνην ἀγέννητον· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ὁ Τιμαίος ἐρεῖ τὴν μὲν ἀγέννητον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ κόσμον γενητόν, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ εἶδος δεξάμενον (1.219.13–20). ‘Other interpreters give a rough breathing to both, which results in [Timaeus] saying that “he will produce speeches about the universe insofar as it has coming into being and insofar as it is generated”. But they make the same mistake as their predecessors, unless indeed they use terms in such a way that the universe has come into being with regard to the form, but is ungenerated with regard to the nurse [of becoming]. Along these lines Timaeus will pronounce that the latter is ungenerated, but that the universe is generated, because it has received its form from the god’. [Transl. Runia] According to Proclus, these anonymous interpreters read ἡ ... ἡ.
3. Πορφύριος δὲ καὶ Ἰάμβλιχος ἀμφοτέρα ψιλοῦσιν, ἵνα ἡ τὸ λεγόμενον πότερον γέγονε τὸ πᾶν ἡ ἀγενές ἐστι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπισκέπεται πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων· καὶ γὰρ μεγίστην ἐν τῇ ὅλῃ φυσιολογίᾳ παρέχεται συντέλειαν ὁρθῶς ὑποτεθεὶν ἡ μὴ, τὸ γενητόν ἡ ἀγέννητον εἶναι τὸν κόσμον· καὶ γὰρ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθέσεως δυνησόμεθα κατιδεῖν ὁποῖαί τινές εἰσιν, ὡς ἔσται δῆλον ἡμῖν μικρὸν ὕστερον (1.219.20–27). ‘Porphyrus and Iamblichus give a smooth breathing to both, so that the text says “whether the universe has come into being or is ungenerated”. For this is the question which is being investigated before all others. And indeed whether this principle is established or not, namely if the cosmos is generated or ungenerated, makes a huge contribution to the whole of natural philosophy. For we shall be able to examine the nature of both its essence and its powers from this basic principle, as will become clear to us a little later on’. [Transl. Runia] Proclus is explicitly stating that Porphyry and Iamblichus are to be followed in reading ἡ ... ἡ. This question (‘if the cosmos is generated or ungenerated’), expressed exactly in this way by the couple of disjunctive ἡ ... ἡ, is indeed crucial to the development of natural philosophy. As a consequence, this is how Diehl prints the text of the lemma, and one can deem it safe to say (with Festugière) that, as far as the *In Timaeum* text is concerned, this is the right choice.

⁴² See, on this passage, Phillips 1997, pp. 189–90.

The situation is made more complicated, however, by the fact that at 1.218.8 ff. (that is, at the beginning of the first of the three sections mentioned) Proclus writes *πάλιν τοίνυν τὸ η γέγονεν η καὶ ἀγενές ἐστίν οἱ μὲν ἐξηγήσαντο τὸ μὲν πρότερον η δασύναντες, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ψιλῶσαντες, ὅσοι φασὶν αὐτὸν ἐρεῖν περὶ τοῦ παντὸς κα^αθόσον [= ἦ] γέγονεν ἀπ' αἰτίας, εἰ καὶ ἀγενές ἐστίν, ἵνα γενόμενον αὐτὸ θεωρήσαντες τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ φύσιν κατίδωμεν*. Now, in Whittaker's view, 'Proclus' words can only be correctly understood when one realizes that he is here using *η* not simply to represent the letter *eta* but rather as a phonetic equivalent which in the case of the text in question might equally well stand for *ει* as for *ἦ* or *ἦ'*.⁴³ According to Whittaker, Albinus' reading was, then, *ἦ γέγονεν εἰ καὶ ἀγενές ἐστίν*,⁴⁴ while the reading endorsed by Proclus (and by Porphyry and Iamblichus) would be *εἰ γέγονεν ἦ καὶ ἀγενές ἐστι*. This can appear to be rash, on Whittaker's part; it is however Proclus himself who supports this reading at 1.275.9–10, where, in coming back to our passage, he writes: *καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τῶν ὑποθέσεων λόγοις εἶπεν ὅτι δεῖ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἡμᾶς μέλλοντας λέγειν εἰ γέγονεν ἦ καὶ ἀγενές ἐστι, θεοὺς παρακαλεῖν καὶ θεάς κτλ.* According to Whittaker, this is also how Plato's text should be established; to our knowledge, apart from Dillon (who refers to Proclus only), no commentator of the *Timaeus* has ever followed him in such editorial choices.

Whittaker's solution is certainly ingenious, but it does raise some issues. Firstly, it is hard to believe that in writing *η* (as it is attested by all Plato and Proclus manuscript), and in repeatedly stating that the same letter could bear either a rough or a smooth breathing mark, Proclus could also have in mind the hypothetical conjunction *ει*. To our knowledge, there are no parallels for such a rendering of the letter *η*. (Note that Proclus is speaking here of written signs one could read, not of sounds). Secondly, it is to be remarked that all Proclus manuscripts attest the lemma as well as the immediately following commentary with double *η* (even though there are discrepancies, as usual, regarding diacrit-

⁴³ See Whittaker 1973, p. 390.

⁴⁴ This reference to Albinus is however not easy to deal with: see the discussion provided by Dillon 1989, pp. 57–59, who tends to accept Whittaker's suggestion (see p. 58 n. 14).

ics): if Proclus had really had the intention of writing εἰ γέγονεν ἢ καὶ ἀγενές ἐστι, he would have somehow made it clear, if not in the lemma, then at least in the commentary. Thirdly, and most importantly, Whittaker's suggestion appears to be inconsistent with Proclus' own gloss of Porphyry's and Iamblichus' reading of the passage: the commentator states that both philosophers read smooth breathing marks on both η, so that the meaning of the clause was πότερον γέγονε τὸ πᾶν ἢ ἀγενές ἐστι: now, it is not easy to think that πότερον could stand for something different than the disjunctive ἢ.

In the textual tradition of this *Timaeus* passage, εἰ is attested only by Philoponus, in a passage of his *De aeternitate mundi*, and, as we have seen, by Proclus himself later on in the commentary, at 1.275.9–10. The latter testimony deserves, we think, some further discussion. Runia (p. 123 n. 420) treats these lines as a paraphrase rather than a quotation, and he is perfectly right: the new syntactic structure of the sentence (now introduced by ὅτι δεῖ) yields a substantial reworking of the original, and it is most likely that the presence of εἰ is requested by the infinitive λέγειν (replacing Plato's more elaborated λόγους ποιῆσθαι), whereas the meaning of ἢ... ἢ at 1.217.4–6 is to show which are our arguments about the universe. Actually, at 1.275.9–10 the meaning of the sentence is, literally, 'he [Plato] said that it is necessary that we, who are about to speak about the universe, [say] whether it has come into being or even if it is ungenerated'; at 1.217.4–6 the meaning of the sentence is rather: 'But for us who in some way are about to produce the accounts concerning the universe, whether it has come into being or even if it is ungenerated [that is: in producing our accounts concerning the universe we have two possibilities: 1. Either it has come into being, or even 2. It is ungenerated], etc.' In the light of the foregoing, we deem that 1.275.9–10, a sort of paraphrase of the *Timaeus* passage we are discussing, is no evidence for Proclus' having read εἰ at 26c5; accordingly, it does not confirm Whittaker's proposal, which has to be rejected in favour of the text already accepted by Diehl and Festugière.

To conclude, we hope to have illustrated the delicate task of an editor when dealing with the lemmas of a commentary. Lemmas are peculiar texts, placed at the crossroads of two different,

independent textual traditions that have to be studied independently from one another. They are the special areas where the two traditions appear to overlap. The demanding task of the editor is precisely to keep them separated, while being fully aware of the specificities of each one of them. In doing so, all data provided by the two textual traditions should be taken into account when analyzing the evidence of these pieces of text that eventually belong to either and neither of the two textual traditions.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Platonis opera*. Tomus IV *tetralogiam VIII continens*, ed. I. Burnet, Oxford: e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1902 [abbr. Burnet].
- Platon. *Œuvres complètes*. X. *Timée – Critias*, trad. A. Rivaud, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1963.
- Plato, *Timaeus, Critias, Cleitophon, Menexenus, Epistles*, transl. R. G. Bury, Cambridge (Mass.): Loeb Classical Library, 1929 [abbr. Bury].
- Proclus, *Commentaire sur le Parménide de Platon. Traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke, suivie de l'édition des extraits du Commentaire sur le Timée traduits par Moerbeke*, II, éd. C. Steel, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1985.
- Procli Diadochi in Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, ed. E. Diehl, Leipzig: Teubner, I, 1903 [abbr. Diehl].
- Proclus, *Commentaire sur le Timée*. Livre II, trad. A. J. Festugière, Paris: Vrin, 1967 [abbr. Festugière].
- Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*. Book 2. *Proclus on the Causes of the Cosmos and Its Creation*, trans. D. T. Runia & M. Share, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008 [abbr. R.-S.].
- Procli commentarius in Platonis Timaeum*, ed. C. E. Chr. Schneider, Wrocław: E. Trewendt, 1847 [abbr. Schneider].
- The Commentaries of Proclus on the Timaeus of Plato*, trans. T. Taylor, I, London: printed and sold by the author, 1820 [abbr. Taylor].
- Michaelis Pselli Philosophica Minora*. Vol. II. *Opuscula psychologica, theologica, daemonologica*, ed. D. J. O'Meara, Leipzig: Teubner, 1989.

Secondary Literature

- D. Bianconi (2005), *Tessalonica nell'età dei paleologi. Le pratiche intellettuali nel riflesso della cultura scritta*, Paris: EHESS.
- D. Bianconi (2006), 'Qualcosa di nuovo su Giovanni Catrario', in *Medioevo Greco*, 6, pp. 69–91.
- J. Bidez (1905), 'Psellus et le commentaire du *Timée* de Proclus', in *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, 29, pp. 321–27.
- F. Bossier (1992), 'Le problème des lemmes du *De caelo* dans la traduction latine du commentaire *In De caelo* de Simplicius', dans J. Hamesse (ed.), *Les problèmes posés par l'édition critique des textes anciens et médiévaux*, Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'études médiévales, pp. 361–97.
- L. Brisson (²1994), *Le même et l'autre dans la structure ontologique du Timée de Platon. Un commentaire systématique du Timée de Platon*, Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag.
- A. Carlini (2012), 'La tradizione manoscritta del *Timeo*', in F. Celia & A. Ulacco (eds), *Il Timeo. Esegesi greche, arabe, latine*, Pisa: PLUS-Pisa University Press, pp. 25–56.
- F. M. Cornford (1937), *Plato's Cosmology. The Timaeus of Plato*. Translated with a Running Commentary, London: Routledge.
- A. D'Acunto (1996), 'Su un'edizione platonica di Niceforo Moscopulo e Massimo Planude: il Vindobonensis phil. gr. 21 (Y)', in *Studi Classici e Orientali*, 44, pp. 261–79.
- G. De Gregorio & G. Prato (2003), 'Scrittura arcaizzante in codici profani e sacri della prima età paleologa', in *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 45, pp. 59–101.
- E. Diehl (1903), 'Der Timaiostext des Proklos', in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 58, pp. 246–69.
- J. Dillon (1989), 'Tampering with the *Timaeus*. Ideological Emendations in Plato, with Special Reference to the *Timaeus*', in *American Journal of Philology*, 110, pp. 50–72.
- L. Ferroni (2006), 'Per una nuova edizione dello *Ione* platonico: la discendenza del Marc. gr. App. Class. IV 1 (T)', in *Bollettino dei Classici*, s. III, 27, pp. 15–87.
- D. Harlfinger & E. Gamillscheg (1981), *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, I. 800–1600*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- G. Jonkers (2017), *The Textual Tradition of Plato's Timaeus and Critias*, Leiden: Brill.

- M. E. Kotwick (2016), *Alexander of Aphrodisias and the Text of Aristotle's Metaphysics*, Berkeley: Department of Classics, University of California.
- P. Megna (2003), 'Marsilio Ficino e il Commento al *Timeo* di Proclo', in *Studi Medievali e Umanistici*, 1, pp. 93–135.
- M. Menchelli (1991), 'Il Vaticano Palatino gr. 173 (P) di Platone e il Parigino gr. 1665 di Diodoro', in *Bollettino dei Classici*, s. III, 12, pp. 93–117.
- M. Menchelli (2007), 'L'Anonimo Γ del Laur. pl. 85.6 (Flor) e il Vindob. suppl. gr. 39 (F). Appunti sul "gruppo omega" della tradizione manoscritta di Platone e su una "riscoperta" di età paleologa', in *Medioevo Greco*, 7, pp. 159–82.
- M. Menchelli (2010), 'Un nuovo codice di Gregorio di Cipro. Il codice di Venezia, BNM, gr. 194 con il *Commento al Timeo* e le letture platoniche del patriarca tra Sinesio e Proclo', in *Scriptorium*, 64, pp. 227–50 + pl. 37–41.
- M. Menchelli (2014), 'Un copista di Planude. Platone ed Elio Aristide in moderne e arcaizzanti di XIII secolo', in *Scripta*, 7, pp. 177–88.
- M. Menchelli (2015), 'Nota storico-tradizionale al *Commento al Timeo* di Proclo nelle età macedone, comnena, paleologa tra supporti librari e documentari (il rotolo di Patmos, Eileton 897, il Marc. gr. 195 e la "collezione filosofica"; il Coisl. 322, il Chis. R VIII 58 e il Marc. gr. 194)', in *Studia Graeco-Arabica* 5, pp. 145–64.
- E. Mioni (1981), *Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum codices Graeci manuscripti*, I, Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato.
- H. Omont (1908), *Platonis Codex Parisinus A. Fac-similé en phototypie*, Paris: Leroux.
- I. Pérez Martín (1996), *El patriarca Gregorio de Chipre (ca. 1240–1290) y la transmisión de los textos clásicos en Bizancio*, Madrid: Editorial CSIC.
- J. F. Phillips (1997), 'Neoplatonic Exegesis of Plato's Cosmogony (*Timaeus* 27c–28c)', in *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 35, pp. 173–97.
- G. Prato (1979), 'Scritture librarie arcaizzanti della prima età dei Paleologi e i loro modelli', in *Scrittura e civiltà*, 3, 1979, pp. 73–114 (repr. in *Studi di paleografia greca*, Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1994, pp. 73–114).
- H. D. Saffrey (1997), 'Nouvelles observations sur le manuscrit A de Platon, le Parisinus graecus 1807', in M. Joyal (ed.), *Studies in Plato and the Platonic Tradition. Essays Presented to J. Whittaker*, Aldershot, Brookfield: Ashgate, pp. 293–307.

- H. D. Saffrey (2007), 'Retour sur le Parisinus Graecus 1807, le manuscrit A de Platon', in C. D'Ancona (ed.), *The Libraries of the Neoplatonists*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, pp. 3–28.
- M. Tulli (2012), 'La tradizione indiretta del *Timeo*', in F. Celia & A. Ulacco (ed.), *Il Timeo. Egesi greche, arabe, latine*, Pisa: PLUS-Pisa University Press, pp. 25–56.
- G. Van Riel (2016), 'Le ms. Parisinus Coislin. 322 (sigle C) du *Commentaire sur le Timée* de Proclus: la copie d'une recension byzantine', in *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, 90, pp. 191–223.
- G. Van Riel (2019), "Tel Glaucos de la mer, couvert de coquillages, d'algues et de pierre". Sur le correcteur anonyme du texte de l'*In Timaeum* de Proclus dans le MS Chis. R.VIII.58', in L. Ferroni (ed.), *Tempus quaerendi. Nouvelles expériences philologiques dans le domaine de la pensée de l'Antiquité tardive*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, pp. 293–325.
- J. Whittaker (1969), 'Timaeus 25d5 ff.', in *Phoenix*, 23, pp. 181–85 (now in J. Whittaker [1984], *Studies in Platonism and Patristic Thought*, London: Variorum Reprints).
- J. Whittaker (1973), 'Textual Comments on *Timaeus* 27c-d', in *Phoenix*, 27, pp. 387–91 (now in J. Whittaker [1984], *Studies in Platonism and Patristic Thought*, London: Variorum Reprints).

Abstract

It is well-known that the five extant books of Proclus' commentary on the *Timaeus* are among the most important indirect sources for the constitution of the critical text of Plato's dialogue. The lemmas in the second book of Proclus' commentary, which focuses on cosmological and cosmogonic issues, cover only a small part of the original Greek text (*Timaeus* 27C1 to 31B2); still, the discrepancies between the readings attested by Plato manuscripts, and those witnessed by Proclus are often striking. Since the textual tradition of the *Timaeus* has been thoroughly examined by G. Jonkers (in a book recently published by Brill), and since the manuscripts of Proclus' extensive commentary are newly collated in preparation of a new critical edition by Gerd Van Riel, we now have solid philological ground to compare the text of the *Timaeus* (as attested by the direct tradition) with Proclus' lemmas. In this contribution, we examine the text as transmitted in the Proclus manuscripts and assess its value as an indirect witness. We also discuss the editorial issues to be tackled by editors of Proclus and of Plato alike.

CHRISTIAN BROCKMANN

Hamburg

HELPFUL INTERACTIONS BETWEEN COMMENTARY AND TEXT: ARISTOTLE'S *POSTERIOR ANALYTICS* AND IMPORTANT MANUSCRIPTS OF THIS TREATISE *

The logical treatises of Aristotle are transmitted in a large number of manuscripts. Approximately 150 manuscripts of the *Organon* or parts of this collection are still preserved today.¹ In many cases, the main Aristotelean texts have been combined in the margins with commentaries from Late Antiquity, e.g. those of Ammonios (around 440–520) or of John Philoponos (circa 490–575) or excerpts from these. In some cases, the scribes included the commentaries or excerpts alongside the Aristotelean treatises immediately during the original creation of the codex, in others, these exegetic paratexts have been added during the later life of the manuscripts. One text commonly transmitted alongside the *Organon* is the *Isagoge* of Porphyrios, which is usually placed in front of the logical treatises as a main text and itself enriched with marginal commentaries. The manuscripts tend to show strong traces of revision and exhibit several layers of annotations, scho-

* This paper was created within project C06 of the Sonderforschungsbereich 950 'Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa', supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and within the scope of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, Universität Hamburg. I owe thanks both to the centre and to Stefano Valente, Daniel Deckers and Nikos Agiotis, as well as to Shari Boodts, Stefan Schorn and the anonymous reviewers.

¹ My indications of the numbers of manuscripts are mostly based on the lists of manuscripts compiled in the Aristoteles-Archiv of the Freie Universität Berlin. Published sources include Wartelle 1963, Harlfinger & Wiesner 1964, the first volume of Aristoteles Graecus (Moraux, Harlfinger, Reinsch & Wiesner 1976) and Argyropoulos & Caras 1980. The regularly updated lists and descriptions published on the web by the Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina (CAGB) project of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften as well as the lists of Pinakes are further relevant research aids.

lia and commentary. Usually, scribes and scholars from several generations have contributed to the overall artefact as we find it preserved today. Older codicological units have sometimes been combined with later ones to form a new manuscript. All these stages of re-working attest to the manuscripts having passed through numerous hands and having seen extensive use in a context of education and learning.

The transmission of the *Organon* is not just noteworthy due to the large overall number of manuscripts and the stratigraphy of traces of their active use, but also due to the unusual preservation of a full seven codices from the 9th to 11th century:

- Milan, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, L 93 sup. (9th c., siglum n)²
- Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbinas gr. 35 (written by Gregorios around 900 for Arethas, siglum A)³
- Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z 201 (written by Ephraim in 954, siglum B)⁴
- Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberinianus gr. 87 (10th c. 2nd half, siglum V)⁵
- Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 72,5 (10th c. 2nd half, siglum d, until f. 212, including the Analytics, further parts have been added later)⁶

² Cf. the description by Reinsch (supplemented by the team of Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina, CAGB): <https://cagb-db.bbaw.de/handschriften/handschrift.xml?id=42962>. In addition, see de Gregorio 1991. Further information on these early manuscripts are offered by Nikos Agiotis (2015), by Stefano Valente in a paper also created as part of the Aristotle project at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (2018), and by Agiotis (forthcoming). Since the literature on the individual manuscripts is extensively covered in those papers, I shall limit my own quotations here to a small sample selection.

³ Cf. the digital image of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.gr.35. Cf. Aristote, *Topiques*, p. CVI Brunschwig; Follieri 1969, XXX.

⁴ Subscription on fol. 111^v, cf. Mioni 1981, p. 314. On Ephraim, cf. Prato 1982.

⁵ Cf. the digital image of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.gr.87. Aristote, *Topiques*, pp. CVIII–CIX Brunschwig; Harlfinger & Reinsch 1970, p. 32.

⁶ Cf. Harlfinger's description supplemented by CAGB: <https://cagb-db.bbaw.de/handschriften/handschrift.xml?id=16634> and the digital image of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (via Teca Digitale).

- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 330 (11th c., siglum C)⁷
- Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 1024 (end of 10th/ beginning of 11th c., siglum c)⁸

In addition, we have eleven leaves of an eighth *codex vetustissimus*, rediscovered in the Monastery of St Catherine's on Mt. Sinai in 1975 (Ιερά Μονή Αγίας Αικατερίνης στο Όρος Σινά, NE gr. M 138). Roderich Reinsch gave a detailed introduction on the remains of this codex of the *Organon* from around 900 in *Philologus* in 2001.⁹ In 2004, I managed to demonstrate that the oldest parts of both *Analytica Priora* and *Posteriora* in the manuscript Paris, BnF, gr. 1843 (siglum D) are a direct copy of the Sinaiticus. This makes the Parisinus an independent textual witness at least for most of the *Analytics*, and it provides us with a detailed window into the otherwise largely lost version of the text of the Sinaiticus. Thus the Parisinus 1843, or rather its oldest codicological units, can stand in as a proxy for the mostly lost parts of the Sinaiticus. These oldest units date to around 1200, they were originally part of another manuscript and later combined with several more recent quires to form what is today's Parisinus gr. 1843.¹⁰ The oldest codicological unit of the *Analytics* in Parisinus gr. 1843 starts on fol. 127 with *Analytica Priora* 1.10, 30b37. This section comprises the remaining parts of the *Analytica Priora*, the *Analytica Posteriora*, the *Topica* and the incomplete copy from *Categories* in the beginning of the codex. These parts were ascribed to scribes B and G by Reinsch in his description. The missing first chapters of *Analytica Priora* have been supplemented in the second half of the 13th century.¹¹

⁷ Cf. the digital image of Bibliothèque nationale de France: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525023022.r=Coislin%20330?rk=214593;2>. Devreesse 1945, p. 315; Aristote, *Topiques*, p. CVI Brunschwig.

⁸ Cf. the digitised microfilm of the Vaticana: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1024. Aristote, *Topiques*, p. CVII Brunschwig.

⁹ Reinsch 2001.

¹⁰ Cf. Brockmann 2004. The Bibliothèque nationale de France provides a digital image of this manuscript: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10511052n>.

¹¹ Cf. Reinsch's description supplemented by CAGB: <https://cagb-db.bbaw.de/handschriften/handschrift.xml?id=51469>. On the dating of the oldest codicological unit to around 1200 cf. Brockmann 2004, p. 53.

The still numerous manuscripts (totalling approx. 120) transmitting the *Analytica* (usually together with other treatises of the *Organon*), have for the most part not yet been studied in detail beyond first attempts on some individual manuscripts.¹² We are thus still a long way from having a clear idea of the paths of transmission and the complex relationships between the individual manuscripts, their re-use in learned circles, their various stages of revision, the joining of different kinds of texts and the spread of textual contamination. Both the commentary and additional paratexts accompanying the authoritative text of Aristotle in the margins and *inter lineas* and their interrelation to its core content remain almost completely unstudied. Substantial advances in this area are to be wished for, but can only be expected within the scope of a larger scale project due to the complex, sustained and extensive levels of revision and adaptation evident in nearly all of the manuscripts.

This chapter shall merely examine small and limited sample cases to illustrate the richness of information contained in the manuscripts and how their analysis, when taking into account the commentaries from Late Antiquity and Byzantine times, can contribute to the evaluation of the Aristotelean text.

At the same time, this shall demonstrate the value of as yet unknown commentary and exegetical paratexts that can be found in the manuscripts. Thus, the still inedited anonymous commentary on the first book of *Analytica Posteriora* transmitted in Vaticanus gr. 244 (12th c.) and some other manuscripts provides additional arguments in interpreting the Aristotelean treatise. In the first case study, two passages from this commentary that can most likely be ascribed to the Byzantine scholar Leon Magentinos will be edited for the first time.¹³ This commentary is an important additional source on the transmission and the history of interpretation of *Analytica Posteriora* as well as unique evidence of Byzantine use of this treatise, irrespective of what the commentary itself has to add to our own understanding of the base text. For these

¹² Besides Reinsch 2001; Brockmann 2004; Ebbesen 2015; Valente (2018, forthcoming a, and b) cf. Ebbesen 1981; Bülow-Jacobsen & Ebbesen 1982; Agiotis 2015; Agiotis (forthcoming).

¹³ Cf. Mercati & Franchi de' Cavalieri 1923, pp. 313–17; Ebbesen 1981, I p. 302 sqq.; Hunger 1990/1991, pp. 33–34; Kotzabassi 1999, p. 47 sqq.; Ebbesen 2015, p. 13. And see below.

reasons, the complete commentary should certainly be edited and translated, and we would not merely have gained a new text for the history of Byzantine philosophy, but also added another voice to the multi-layered debate on the interpretation and original textual version of the Aristotelean treatise.

1. *Analytica Posteriora 1.31, 87b39–88a4*

Based on a rather small number of independent manuscripts and on the elaborate commentary of Philoponos, I would like to propose and explain in detail a change to the restored text of this passage.¹⁴ In chapter 1.31, Aristotle examines the relationship between perception and knowledge. He refutes the thesis that perception is one of the immediate ways of understanding or of acquiring knowledge, and attempts to precisely define the contribution of αἴσθησις to the process of acquiring knowledge. For this, he returns once more to his frequent example of the eclipse of the moon and its cause or how it can be explained, adding a new aspect by ways of a thought experiment. He examines what new insight our perception could provide if we were put on the moon and had the opportunity to observe its eclipse from that vantage point. The text in Ross' edition reads:¹⁵

διὸ καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης ὄντες ἑωρῶμεν ἀντιφράττουσαν τὴν γῆν, οὐκ ἂν ᾔδειμεν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐκλείψεως. ἤσθανόμεθα γὰρ ἂν ὅτι νῦν ἐκλείπει, καὶ οὐ διότι ὅλως· οὐ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ καθόλου αἴσθησις. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ θεωρεῖν τοῦτο πολλάκις συμβαῖνον τὸ καθόλου ἂν θηρεύσαντες ἀπόδειξιν εἶχομεν.

And for this reason, even if we were on the moon and observed how the earth moved into the way, we would not know the cause of the eclipse of the moon. For we would perceive that it was eclipsed this one time, and not why in general. For we have already found that there can be no perception of the universal. However, from the observation that this occurs frequently, we would be able to grasp the universal and have proof.

¹⁴ This change has, as far as I can see, been suggested before only by Pierre Pellegrin, who used one central point to argue for it in a short annotation to his Greek-French edition of the treatise: Aristotle, *Seconds Analytiques*, pp. 220, 391 Pellegrin.

¹⁵ Aristotle's *Prior and Posterior Analytics*, Ross: *APo.* 1.31, 87b39–88a4.

The proposed change concerns the sentence ἡσθανόμεθα γὰρ ἂν ὅτι νῦν ἐκλείπει, καὶ οὐ διότι ὅλως. There can be no question that the adverb νῦν belongs to the text, even though four independent witnesses (Urb. gr. 35, Marc. gr. 201, Laur. Plut 72,5, Vat. gr. 1204) omit it, since Mario Mignucci has clearly shown νῦν to be required in this sentence.¹⁶ In addition, thanks to the increased number of known independent older textual witnesses since Ross' edition, we now have exactly as many independent manuscripts containing it as we have those that do not (Ambr. L 93 sup., Barb. gr. 87, Coisl. 330¹⁷ and Par. gr. 1843). Furthermore, John Philoponos' commentary on the passage also confirms this reading.¹⁸

What I shall try to show here is that the true point of this thought experiment is lost in the accepted textual representation that contrasts ὅτι νῦν ἐκλείπει with οὐ διότι ὅλως (ἐκλείπει), and that the first part of the text must necessarily also have the interrogatory adverb διότι, even though it is only transmitted in a small number of manuscripts. For the advantage we gain by placing ourselves as observers on the moon does not consist in perceiving *that* the moon darkens, but in perceiving *why* this happens. We could observe *that* it turns dark as easily while on earth. Thus, there is no need for us to be on the moon to observe that it is deprived of light in this process.¹⁹ The unique vantage point we gain by placing ourselves (purely theoretically, at least to Aristotle) on the moon is the opportunity to observe the cause. For we would be in a position to observe that the earth moves in front of the sun, and thus perceive *why* the moon turns dark at that time, *why* the moon is separated from its light source. Nevertheless, even this unique opportunity would not provide us with insight into the universal cause and general explanations.²⁰

It is for this reason that the preceding sentence adds the caveat that even when on the moon, we would still not know the cause, i.e. we would not have certain, scientifically sound knowledge of the cause of the eclipse. With the proposed reading, this is further

¹⁶ Mignucci 1975, p. 603.

¹⁷ Cf. *infra* for the exact state of the transmission of this passage in Coisl. 330.

¹⁸ CAG XIII 3, p. 310.11 Wallies.

¹⁹ This particular aspect was already hinted at by Pellegrin, cf. n. 14 above.

²⁰ Cf. Detel 1993, p. 499.

explained by stating that we would only be able to perceive the causality of the single observed event without having immediate access to the general explanation: ... οὐκ ἂν ᾔδειμεν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐκλείψεως, ἡσθανόμεθα γὰρ ἂν διότι νῦν ἐκλείπει, καὶ οὐ διότι ὅλως.

Subsequently, further observation and thought processes would be required for us to grasp the universal (τὸ καθόλου ... θηρεύσαντες) and understand the underlying laws of astronomy. Only then would we have acquired well-founded knowledge based on demonstration.²¹ Even if the imaginary single observation would in this particular case allow us to perceive the reason, the further thought process would still be required for us to scientifically understand the cause and have a claim to knowledge in the strict sense. Applying the proposed change, Aristotle's text would then have read:

διὸ καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης ὄντες ἐωρῶμεν ἀντιφράττουσαν τὴν γῆν, οὐκ ἂν ᾔδειμεν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐκλείψεως. ἡσθανόμεθα γὰρ ἂν διότι νῦν ἐκλείπει, καὶ οὐ διότι ὅλως· οὐ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ καθόλου αἴσθησις, οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐκ τοῦ θεωρεῖν τοῦτο πολλάκις συμβαῖνον τὸ καθόλου ἂν θηρεύσαντες ἀπόδειξιν εἴχομεν.

Further proof that this passage should be read like this and thus requires the insertion of the first διότι lies in the fact that Aristotle repeats this same example in chapter 2.2: 'If we were on the moon, we would not investigate whether there were an eclipse of the moon and why it occurred, but both would be clear at the same time'.²² This second passage also identifies perception as the cause of insight into causality of the single occurrence and thus as the basis allowing us to understand the universal principle. Immediately after, he states this quite clearly, furnishing us with a decisive argument in judging the textual question in chapter 1.31, 88a1: 'For through the act of perception, we would be ena-

²¹ Cf. Barnes 1993, p. 194 on 88a2: '... the ascent to explanation appears to have three stages: first, we simply observe several eclipses of the moon; then we hunt for what is common to all these cases, and thus adopt a universal proposition; and finally we formulate a demonstration using this universal proposition'. Also, cf. Detel 1993, pp. 497–99.

²² *APo.* 2.2, 90a26–27: εἰ δ' ἦμεν ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης, οὐκ ἂν ἐζητούμεν οὐτ' εἰ γίνεται οὔτε διὰ τί, ἀλλ' ἅμα δῆλον ἂν ἦν. Cf. Barnes 1993, p. 194; Detel 1993, p. 500; Aristote, *Seconds Analytiques*, p. 391 Pellegrin.

bled to understand the universal as well. For the perception would be that [the earth] now stood in the way (as it would be obvious that [the moon] was now eclipsed) and from this the universal would follow'.²³ The possibility to observe from the moon that the earth moves in front of the sun just as the eclipse begins would make the causality obvious. Thus, perception and correct assessment of the matter perceived coincide in this theoretical case. For in this instance, understanding that the earth moves in at just that moment is the same as understanding the cause why the moon is obscured at the same time. The observation that the moon is eclipsed at that time (ὅτι νῦν ἐκλείπει) is not, however, at all central to the argument. It is just a coincidental aspect and the obvious concomitant of the main process.

Concerning the transmission of this passage (1.31, 88a1), only two of the oldest manuscripts had διότι, i.e. the Ambrosianus L 93 sup. (Fig. 1) and the Parisinus Coislinianus 330. While the Coisl. 330 shows traces of erasure and correction at this point, the erased syllable δι- can still be made out (Figs 2, 3 and 4); it is followed by ὅτι that seems to have been rewritten over erased letters. The traces that can still be made out seem consistent with the second part of διότι before it was erased, i.e. -ότι. Furthermore, there are traces of three or four more letters immediately following διότι and thus directly before νῦν ἐκλείπει that have also been erased. Thus, the manuscript might originally have contained a version unique among the oldest textual witnesses, with one more word or two syllables in between διότι and νῦν ἐκλείπει, unless the latter part of the correction was due to a scribal error made before. A careful re-examination of the original manuscript will be required to possibly shed further light on this. In any case, the Coislinianus should be considered as another witness for the variant διότι, since the more common ὅτι in this case is clearly the result of the correction.²⁴

The reading proposed here is also attested indirectly in the commentary of John Philoponos. Even though the relevant pas-

²³ *APo.* 2.2, 90a28–30: ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ αἰσθέσθαι καὶ τὸ καθόλου ἐγένετο ἂν ἡμῖν εἰδέναι. ἢ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθησις ὅτι νῦν ἀντιφράττει (καὶ γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι νῦν ἐκλείπει)· ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὸ καθόλου ἂν ἐγένετο.

²⁴ In his edition, Ross does not point to the version in the Coislinianus for this passage; neither is there a hint in the collations of Williams 1984, p. 64.

sage is not included in the lemma, Philoponos quotes it in his comment using διότι νῦν ἐκλείπει: ἡσθανόμεθα γὰρ ἄν, φησί, διότι νῦν ἐκλείπει, καὶ οὐ διότι ὅλως· οὐ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ καθόλου αἴσθησις.²⁵

To understand Philoponos' interpretation of this passage, we should look beyond the lemma and his quite brief observation on it, turning to the preceding extensive commentary on the first sentence of chapter 1.31 (CAG XIII 3, pp. 306–09 Wallies). There, Philoponos takes a closer look at the example of the eclipse of the moon. Initially, he appears to allow for the perception of a specific occurrence to constitute a central part of recognising a cause, or more precisely a cause for the specific occurrence, as is evident in his paraphrase of the Aristotelean passage as follows:

If we were on the moon, he says, and observed it being blocked by the earth, and *being eclipsed because of this*, we would not yet have acquired (well-founded) knowledge, that is to say, a demonstration of the eclipse of the moon, but (we would only understand) that this one eclipse had been caused by the earth moving in between, and we would not, however, know that every eclipse was caused in this manner. For perception cannot recognise the universal. *But (scientifically substantiated) understanding arises from the recognition of the universal.*²⁶

This passage aims to illustrate that the act of perceiving the blocking of the moon is to be considered – in this particular case – as simultaneous (or even equivalent) to that of perceiving the cause of its eclipse (καὶ ἐωρώμεν αὐτὴν ἀντιφραττομένην ... καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλιμπάνουσαν). Nevertheless, Philoponos clarifies that the moment of perceiving and understanding does not yet coincide with the presence of well-founded knowledge (ἐπιστήμη). He then proceeds to explain that αἴσθησις is merely the prerequisite

²⁵ CAG XIII 3, p. 310.11–12 Wallies.

²⁶ CAG XIII 3, p. 307.22–27 Wallies: οἷον καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης ἦμεν, φησί, καὶ ἐωρώμεν αὐτὴν ἀντιφραττομένην ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλιμπάνουσαν, οὐκέτι ἂν ἐπιστήμην καὶ ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἐκλείψεως τῆς σελήνης εἶχομεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἤδε μόνον ἡ ἐκλειψις δι' ἀντίφραξιν τῆς γῆς γέγονεν, οὕτω μέντοι ἡδεῖμεν ὅτι καὶ πᾶσα ἐκλειψις οὕτω γίνεται· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ αἴσθησις τοῦ καθόλου ἀντιλαμβάνεται· ἡ δὲ ἐπιστήμη τῷ τὸ καθόλου γινώσκειν ἐστίν. The last sentence is itself a quote from the corresponding chapter in Aristotle (*APo.* 1.31, 87b38–39). Philoponos offers the same variant (τῷ τὸ καθόλου γινώσκειν), which Barnes also prefers (1993, p. 43). Ross, on the other hand, reads ἡ δὲ ἐπιστήμη τὸ τὸ καθόλου γινώσκειν ἐστίν.

to scientific knowledge, and that it is the λόγος that is responsible for concluding the universal from the multitude of single cases. In this context, he considers perception to be merely functioning as a tool used by the reason.²⁷ Philoponos stresses the clear distinction between perception and (well-founded) knowledge and in a way retracts his immediately preceding statement that in the specific example it was possible to perceive that the eclipse of the moon is caused by the interposition of the earth. Accordingly, in his revision of this thought, he no longer uses the preposition *διά*, but states somewhat more vaguely: *κατὰ ἀντίφραξιν τῆς γῆς*. ‘... For even if we could see that the moon was eclipsed by the earth blocking it, and also this, I mean that the interposition was the cause, it would still not have been perception, but the reason that reached this conclusion while perception only understands the fact’.²⁸

Thus, Philoponos’ interpretation is partially contradictory and not at all unambiguous. On the one hand, he stresses the fundamental differences between perception and knowledge both in these passages and later, but on the other hand, he also recognises their close interdependence. When referring to perception contributing to knowledge, he prefers to use the terms *γνώσις* and *γινώσκειν*. He strictly separates this understanding based on perception (*ἢ τῆς αἰσθήσεως γνώσις*) from *ἐπιστήμη*, which to him is the reasoning that deduces the universal from the perceptions: *οὐ μὴν ἢ τῆς αἰσθήσεως γνώσις ἐπιστήμη ἐστὶν ἀλλ’ ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων τὸ καθόλου συλλογίζόμενος*.²⁹ As he adds an example to this general statement in his next sentence, he replaces *ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων* with a phrase that pointedly illustrates the interde-

²⁷ CAG XIII 3, p. 307.28–33 Wallies: *εἰ γὰρ καὶ πολλάκις διὰ τῆς αἰσθήσεως τὸ αὐτὸ γινόμενον ὁρῶντες ἐκ τούτου συνάγομεν τὸ καθόλου, ἀλλ’ οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο ἡ αἰσθησις ἐπιστήμη ἐστίν· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὕτη τοῦ καθόλου ἀντελάβετο, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις μὲν μερικῶς τινὶ τῷ αὐτῷ προσέβαλεν, ὁ μὲντοι λόγος ἐκ τούτων τὸ καθόλου συνελογίσαστο τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὀργάνου χρεῖαν ἀποτελεσάσης τῷ λόγῳ.*

²⁸ CAG XIII 3, p. 307.33–308.4 Wallies: *δηλον οὖν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ αἰσθησις ἐπιστήμη· ἡ μὲν γάρ, ὡς εἶπον, τότε μόνον οἶδε τὸ παρὸν καὶ ὁρῶμενον καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἔστι μόνον, οὐ μὴν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν· κἀν γὰρ ἐωρώμεν, ὅτι κατὰ ἀντίφραξιν τῆς γῆς ἐκλιμπάνει ἡ σελήνη, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτό, λέγω δὴ ὅτι αἴτιον ἡ ἀντίφραξις, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἡ αἰσθησις ἀλλ’ ὁ λόγος ὃς τοῦτο συνελογίζετο τῆς αἰσθήσεως μόνον τὸ ὅτι εἰδυίας.*

²⁹ CAG XIII 3, p. 308.30–31 Wallies.

pendency of perception and understanding ἐκ τῶν πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἐγνωσμένων.³⁰

To conclude this part of the argument, we can state that Philoponos as well distinguishes clearly between knowledge proper and understanding in a broader sense.³¹ He, too, seems to accept that in a specific example a cause can be elucidated through perception. Perceiving, understanding and the formation of knowledge interact in this case of course: the perception coincides with an act of interpretation. To paraphrase, we can return to Aristotle's own statement from *APo.* 2.2: 'If we were on the moon, we would not investigate whether there were an eclipse of the moon and why it occurred, but both would be clear at the same time'.

1.1. In Support of This Interpretation:

The Commentary in ms. Vatican, BAV, gr. 244 –
Commentary and Edition of Two Exegetical Passages on *APo.* 1.31

The codex Vaticanus gr. 244 of the *Organon* is best known to scholars for its extensive commentaries on the Aristotelean texts.³² Each of the logical treatises has been prepended with an extensive introduction. The subsequent Aristotelean text is accompanied by numbered sections of commentary on the very wide margins that even contain two separate areas of surrounding commentary

³⁰ CAG XIII 3, p. 308.31–34 Wallies: τῆς γὰρ αἰσθήσεως ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦδε τοῦ λευκοῦ αἰσθησις καὶ πάλιν ἄλλου ἢ καὶ πολλάκις τοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὕτως ἐκ τῶν πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἐγνωσμένων ὁ νοῦς τὸ ἀπλῶς καθόλου λευκὸν συλλογίζεται.

³¹ The case for Themistios is similar, for he also stresses that as an observer on the moon, we would only understand from what we saw how the single occurrence we observed with our own eyes was caused, without this resulting in universal knowledge. Perception to him, too, merely provides the starting point for a later demonstration, and shows only the ὅτι, but obviously cannot ever demonstrate the διότι. καὶ εἰ τὴν ἐκλειψιν ἐωρῶμεν ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης ὄντες ὅτι γίνεται τῆς γῆς ἀντιφραττούσης, οὐχ ὅτι πᾶσα ἐκλειψις οὕτως, ἡπιστάμεθα ἂν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἤδε μόνῃ ἦν βλέπομεν. ἀρχὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀποδείξεως αἰσθησις, καὶ τὸ καθόλου νοοῦμεν διὰ τὸ πολλάκις αἰσθῆσθαι· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα πλείονων τὸ καθόλου θηρεύεται καὶ γίνεται δῆλον. οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο ἀπόδειξις ἐστὶν ἡ αἰσθησις· οὐδέποτε γὰρ τὸ διότι δείκνυσιν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ μόνον τὸ ὅτι (CAG V 1, p. 38.12–18 Wallies).

³² Mercati & Franchi de' Cavalieri 1923, pp. 313–17; Ebbesen 1981, I p. 302 sqq.; Kotzabassi 1999, p. 47 sqq.

in some cases.³³ Several of these sections are extensive enough to cover subsequent pages that are reserved solely for the commentary without any of the main text. While this manuscript also contains commentary and excerpts by other exegetes, it is considered most important as being one of the main witnesses for the commentaries of Leon Magentinos. His authorship is certain for the commentary accompanying the other logical treatises in this manuscript. In 2015, Sten Ebbesen convincingly argued that the commentary on books I and II of *APo.* should also be assigned to Leon Magentinos or his workshop, a conclusion that I fully share.³⁴

Traditionally, Vaticanus gr. 244 was dated to the 13th century, a view still found in current literature. However, convincing palaeographical evidence and comparisons brought forth by Herbert Hunger and Guglielmo Cavallo more accurately put it into the 12th c.³⁵ Nikos Agiotis also supports this earlier dating in his forthcoming thesis. Since this manuscript plays a pivotal role in determining when Leon Magentinos lived, that question will also have to be revisited based on the revised dating.³⁶

The Aristotelean main texts of the Vat. 244 are based on Coislinianus 330, which can be demonstrated palaeographically for *APo.* An unambiguous case is found on fol. 363^r in the passage 1.31, 88a7 (Fig. 5). After νοήσεως, we find the following explanatory text, which does not belong in this place and was immediately stricken out, most likely by the scribe himself: τὸ καθόλου ἐχούσης ἀνελόγου· λόγον αὐτοῦ ἔχοντος καὶ ἀπόδειξιν. This mistake occurred due to the layout of Coisl. 330, where these words appear as a marginal note introduced with a reference mark that is found in the text exactly above νοήσεως (fol. 179^r, cf. Fig. 6). Thus, the scribe of Vat. 244 first interpreted this note as supplemented original text and therefore inserted it right after νοήσεως, but immediately

³³ Cf. the digital images of e.g. fol. 94^v, 302^v or 303^r. Ebbesen (1981, I p. 314 sqq.) offers a reconstruction of how the scribe might have produced this complex layout and stratigraphy. Cf. also Agiotis (forthcoming).

³⁴ Ebbesen 1981, I p. 302; Ebbesen 2015, pp. 13–14. Cf. Agiotis (forthcoming). Stefano Valente provides further arguments for assigning the commentary on *APo.* to Magentinos based on additional manuscripts relevant to this question (Valente, forthcoming a).

³⁵ Hunger 1990/1991, pp. 33–34; Hunger 1991, pp. 74–75 and Abb. 4 and 5; Cavallo 2000, p. 232; Agiotis (forthcoming).

³⁶ Cf. Agiotis' thoughts on this (forthcoming).

noticing his mistake, cancelled the interpolated passage. From this, we may conclude that the Coislinianus 330 was the exemplar of Vat. 244 without any intermediate copy. For the scribe of the Vaticanus had to be looking at the exact layout of this passage in Coislinianus 330 to know which words to cancel as not part of the Aristotelean text. Further evidence for the close relation of these two manuscripts is collected by Agiotis, who observes that some of the late scholia on *De interpretatione* in the older codex are very close in the style of their script to that of the Vaticanus.³⁷ The scholia on the first chapters of *Categories* in the Coislinianus (fol. 17^v sqq.) are also from an annotator who can most likely be identified with the scribe of Vat. 244.

Furthermore, the peculiarities in the following two passages can be explained as misreadings due to the palaeographical appearance of the Coislinianus. (1.) A somewhat unremarkable transposition in the Vaticanus – τῶν συλλογισμῶν εἶναι instead of εἶναι τῶν συλλογισμῶν (1.32, 88a18) – turns out to be a faithful reproduction of the version in the exemplar after a correction. The Coislinianus was originally missing the infinitive εἶναι, and a later hand added it in the margin right next to the word συλλογισμῶν at the end of the line, creating the visual sequence τῶν συλλογισμῶν εἶναι.³⁸ (2.) When turning from fol. 338^r to fol. 338^v, one and the same sentence was originally repeated (1.15, 79a36–38 ὅταν – ὑπάρχειν). Subsequently, the first copy was stricken out. The scribe's jump from ὑπάρχειν 79a38 back to ὑπάρχειν 79a36 is also easily explained by the line breaks in Coisl. 330, fol. 165^v, l. 6–8, as the duplicated text corresponds to exactly two lines, and the word ὑπάρχειν responsible for this jump, is at the end of both lines 6 and 8.³⁹

Creating the Vat. 244 in its original form as a manuscript to hold the logical treatises of Aristotle as well as such an extensive set of commentary required thorough planning. From the fact that the Coislinianus 330, the exemplar for the Aristotelean text, did not originally contain extensive commentary, we can already infer that several further manuscripts must have been acquired as

³⁷ Agiotis 2015, pp. 4–5.

³⁸ Fol. 179^v, l. 6; cf. the digital image: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525023022.r=Coislin%20330?rk=214593;2>.

³⁹ Cf. the digital image.

additional exemplars. Most of the marginal commentary in the Coislinianus can be assigned to later scribes, some of them to the scribe of Vat. 244 himself. Hence, the producers of the Vaticanus could only have been using the Coislinianus for the main texts, but had to draw on other sources for all of the commentaries. The most important sources were the commentaries of Leon Magentinos, which might perhaps have been arranged as marginal commentaries to the main texts for the first time in this manuscript, as they may have been presented as a continuous text in the source, and thus would have been numbered strictly by section only in the process of adding them to the Vaticanus.

The commentary by Leon Magentinos on *APo.* found in Vat. 244 is transmitted in several other manuscripts, all from later dates. Particularly relevant are the following from the 14th century: Coislinianus 167, Vaticanus Reginensis gr. 107, Parisinus gr. 1972 and Coislinianus 157.⁴⁰ Their layout deviates significantly from that of Vat. 244. While Coisl. 167 has just the commentary without the main Aristotelean text, Par. 1972 and Coisl. 157 alternate between passages from the main text in larger script and those from the commentary in smaller script. Merely the Reginensis 107 presents the commentary on the margins and *inter lineas* in a similar fashion to that of Vat. 244. Some marginal notes in *codex vetustissimus* Urbinas gr. 35 by a 12th century scribe are also relevant, as they are excerpts from this commentary.⁴¹

Only parts of this commentary have been previously edited, though not as those of Leon Magentinos. The introduction and the first lemmata (up to *APo.* 1.2, 71b25) were published as an anonymous commentary by Michael Hayduck in his volume of Eustratios in the series *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*.⁴² However, he had to rely on a late manuscript from the 16th cen-

⁴⁰ High resolution digital images of the Reginensis gr.107 are available from the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.gr.107, whereas only a digitised microfilm is available of Parisinus gr. 1972: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b10721897f?rk=21459;2>. On these manuscripts cf. Ebbesen 1981, III pp. 70–81; Kotzabassi 1999, pp. 48–57; Agiotis (forthcoming). On Coisliniani 157 and 167 further cf. Devreesse 1945, p. 140 sqq., 149 sq.

⁴¹ Cf. Bülow-Jacobsen & Ebbesen 1982, pp. 52–53. Stefano Valente is working on the excerpts from the commentary on *APo.* found in the Urbinas (s. Valente, forthcoming b).

⁴² CAG XXI 1, pp. VII–XVIII Hayduck. Cf. Ebbesen 2015, p. 14.

tury (Escorial, Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, Esc. Φ. I. 14). The second volume of the commentary has also been edited, but as the second volume of that of John Philoponos. Yet the editor Max Wallies had already pointed out that this part of the commentary was clearly not actually authored by him,⁴³ an assessment that met with much unambiguous approval.⁴⁴ Based on the convincing argument by Ebbesen already cited, we can now state that this commentary, which was not authored by John Philoponos, but does indeed belong to the exegetic tradition of Ammonios and his pupil Philoponos, as Owen Goldin pointed out,⁴⁵ was actually that of Leon Magentinos (or at least of his workshop).⁴⁶

To use Leon's commentary to further our examination of the thought experiment described by Aristotle in *APo.* 1.31, 87b39 sqq., I examined not only the Vaticanus 244, but also three of the four 14th century manuscripts, i.e. Coisl. 167, Reg. gr. 107, Par. gr. 1972, and also used the excerpts in Urb. gr. 35 for comparison.⁴⁷ Sten Ebbesen and Sofia Kotzabassi have shown that the commentary on *Sophistici Elenchi* and on *Topica* in these 14th century manuscripts depend on Vat. 244 either directly or via intermediary manuscripts. However, the excerpts in the Urbinas are independent of the Vaticanus.⁴⁸ While the same likely holds true for the commentary on *APo.*, the 14th century manuscripts still have to be taken into account, as they can be expected to contain both textual improvements and relevant conjectures for this commentary as they do for that on *Topica* and *Sophistici Elenchi*.

⁴³ CAG XIII 3, pp. V–VI Wallies. Cf. Ebbesen 2015, pp. 13–14.

⁴⁴ Philoponos, *On Aristotle, Posterior Analytics* 1.1–8, p. 1 McKirahan; Sorabji in: Philoponos (?), *On Aristotle Posterior Analytics* 2, p. vii Goldin; and Goldin in the same volume p. 1.

⁴⁵ Philoponos (?), *On Aristotle Posterior Analytics* 2, pp. 1–4 Goldin.

⁴⁶ Ebbesen 2015, pp. 13–14. The identity between the second book of the commentary edited as that of John Philoponos and the second book of the anonymous commentary in Vaticanus 244 was already noted by Mercati & Franchi de' Cavalieri in their catalogue (1923, p. 316). Further cf. the description of Coisl. 157 (Devreesse 1945, p. 142).

⁴⁷ The annotator of Urb. gr. 35 only excerpted the second of the two passages under discussion (fol. 234^v), thus this manuscript is not a witness for the first passage.

⁴⁸ Ebbesen 1981, III pp. 70–78; Kotzabassi 1999, pp. 50–57.

To return to the texts and their interpretation: similar to Philoponos' approach, Leon contrasts knowledge of the universal cause with seeing, perceiving and understanding causality in the single example. The passage accompanied by the relevant scholion is found in Vaticanus 244 on fol. 362^v (Fig. 7). The extensive scholion is numbered τξ (= 360) and pertains to the entire passage from 87b35.⁴⁹ It concludes on the observation of the eclipse of the moon from our privileged observational place as follows (starting roughly in the middle of fol. 362^v, line 21 of the marginal area):⁵⁰

ἡ δὲ ἐπιστήμη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ γινώσκειν τὸ καθόλου· διὸ καὶ ἂν ἤμεν ἐγγὺς τῆς σελήνης καὶ ἐωρῶμεν αὐτὴν ὅπως ἐκλείπει διὰ τὸ ἀντιφράττεσθαι καὶ παρεμποδίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς, οὐκ ἂν ἠπιστάμεθα τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐκλείψεως, διότι νῦν αἰσθανόμεθα ταύτην ἐκλείπουσαν διὰ τὴν ἀντίφραξιν· καὶ οὐ διότι ὅλως ἤγουν καὶ οὐ τὴν καθόλου αἰτίαν γινώσκομεν· δι' ἣν πᾶσα γίνεται ἔκλειψις σελήνης· ἡ γὰρ αἴσθησις οὐκ ἀντιληπτική ἐστὶ τῆς καθόλου ἐκλείψεως· ἀλλὰ ταύτης ἣν ὁρῶμεν·—

Of course, this passage once again stresses that perception is unable to understand the eclipse universally: οὐκ ἀντιληπτική ἐστὶν τῆς καθόλου ἐκλείψεως. For the universal is reserved to scientific, reasoned understanding. At the same time, it admits that the observer who is close to the moon is able to actually see how it is eclipsed *due to* the earth's moving in between: διὸ καὶ ἂν ... ἐωρῶμεν αὐτὴν ὅπως ἐκλείπει διὰ τὸ ἀντιφράττεσθαι καὶ παρεμποδίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ... διότι νῦν αἰσθανόμεθα ταύτην ἐκλείπουσαν διὰ τὴν ἀντίφραξιν. Thus, this commentary also interprets the case of the eclipse of the moon as an example of how certain single situations can pro-

⁴⁹ Cf. line 5 of the main text, where the digits τξ are repeated above the phrase ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι 87b35.

⁵⁰ The present text has been normalised by removing some punctuation, as well as modifying one accent and adding one iota subscript. The Coisl. 167 (fol. 248^v), Par. gr. 1972 (fol. 384^v), and Reg. gr. 107 (fol. 251^v) show no variants in this passage. The scribe of Coisl. 167 omitted several words in the first part (not printed) of this longish scholion (*saut du même au même*). The palaeographical appearance of Vat. 244 may well have been the cause, for the words οὐκ ἐπίσταται that resulted in the jump are directly above or below each other at the ends of two lines in a very typical writing style. Cf. Fig. 6, line 15 and 16 of the scholia. This mistake is further evidence of the commentary on *APo.* in Coisl. 167 having indeed been copied from Vat. 244.

duce an understanding of a specific cause simultaneously with its observation.

The subsequent scholion τζα, extending in Vat. 244 from the lower margin of fol. 362^v to the upper margin of fol. 363^r, is also relevant in this context (Fig. 7 and 5).⁵¹ For in the second part of his explanation of 88a2–3, the commentator returns to the eclipse. According to his interpretation, the processes of perception contribute to knowing and understanding insofar as they figuratively provide the intellect with the base materials. The *Nous* then derives the general explanation from the numerous particular facts. As an intermediary instance in this process, the *Phantasia* (imagination) is provided with data by *Aisthesis*. The commentator compares the role of imagination with that of a wooden tablet on which the single events are written down.

τζα:—⁵² οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ θεωρεῖν τοῦτο πολλάκις· δείξας τὴν αἴσθησιν ἑτέραν τῆς ἐπιστήμης, νῦν φησὶν· ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ἑτέρα ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντῃ ἀσυντελής ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ἀλλ' ὄργανον ταύτης ἐστίν· εἰ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιστήμη γινώσκει τὴν καθόλου αἰτίαν τοῦ πράγματος, ταύτην δὲ ὁ νοῦς ἀποσπλᾷ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ μερικῶν περὶ ἃ ἡ αἴσθησις ἐνεργεῖ, λοιπὸν συντελεῖ ἡ αἴσθησις⁵³ τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ· ἡ γὰρ ὄρασις πολλάκις ἐνεργήσασα τὴν τῶν λευκῶν ἀντίληψιν, παραπέμπει πάσας τὰς ἐνεργείας αὐτῆς τὰς περὶ τὸ λευκὸν τῇ φαντασίᾳ· ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἰδὼν ταῦτα ἐν τῇ φαντασίᾳ ὥσπερ ἐν πινάκῃ τινα καταγεγραμμένα, ἀποσπλᾷ τὸν καθόλου λόγον· ὅτι λευκὸν ἐστὶ χρῶμα διακριτικὸν ὅψεως.⁵⁴ καὶ ἡ ὄρασις πολλάκις ἰδοῦσα τὴν σελήνην ἐκλείψασαν διὰ τὴν ἀντίφραξιν τῆς γῆς, παραπέμπει τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν φαντασίαν· ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἀποσπλᾷ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐκλείψεων τῶν ἐν τῇ φαντασίᾳ, τὴν καθόλου ἐκλείψιν γίνεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀντίφραξιν τῆς γῆς:—⁵⁵

⁵¹ Cf. the digital image: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.244.

⁵² Different numbering in Reg. gr. 107 (fol. 251^v) and Par. gr. 1972 (fol. 384^v). The numbering is missing in Coisl. 167 (fol. 248^v), and the excerpt in Urb. gr. 35 additionally does not repeat the lemma of the Aristotelean text (fol. 234^v). Two variants from the younger manuscripts are quoted in the following footnotes. The Urbinas has no textual variants.

⁵³ Reg. gr. 107: λοιπὸν συντελεῖ καὶ ἡ αἴσθησις (add. καὶ).

⁵⁴ Coisl. 167: ὅτι τὸ λευκὸν ἐστὶ χρῶμα διακριτικὸν ὅψεως (add. τὸ).

⁵⁵ On this comparison of *Phantasia* with a wooden writing tablet, cf. Aristotle's thoughts in *De memoria* 450a25–450b27. Parallels for the passage of the Byzantine commentary can be found *inter alia* in the commentary of Michael of Ephesos and in that of Themistios (Sophonias) on *De memoria*. Michael, CAG

Thus, according to the commentator's model, we arrive at well-founded knowledge on the eclipse of the moon in three steps: 1) We must have the opportunity to observe the single occurrence(s) multiple times, i.e. we must repeatedly see the moon darkening due to its being blocked by the earth (ἡ ὄρασις πολλάκις ἰδοῦσα τὴν σελήνην ἐκλείψασαν διὰ τὴν ἀντίφραξιν τῆς γῆς). 2) Our perception then passes this data to our imagination. 3) The intellect derives the universal law governing the process of eclipse from the multitude of data points collected in the *Phantasia*.

Therefore the relevant passages of the *APo.*-commentary, which can most likely be attributed to Leon Magentinos, are part of the same exegetic tradition that allows for specific cases like that of the eclipse of the moon where perception of a process and understanding of its cause are a simultaneous occurrence.

A timely edition and translation of this commentary as a whole is to be desired. I believe it is apparent that this would be an addition of substance to the history of Aristotelianism not just in Byzantium. Equally important, a thorough edition is bound to provide hints concerning not just the interpretation, but also the text of Aristotle's own work. The future editor of this commentary will be faced with specific challenges, for the Vaticanus exhibits several layers and supplemented materials from several other commentaries. 'MS Vat.gr.244 ... offers a unique opportunity to study a Byzantine scholar at work'.⁵⁶ It will not be a trivial task to decide, which parts of the text belong to the primary commentary, and what is rather to be seen as additions or further annotation. To this end, the second book of the commentary, i.e. the part already edited as Pseudo-Philoponos by Max Wallies, will have to

XXII p. 9.3–8 Wendland: ὁ γὰρ νοῦς συμπλέκεται τῇ φαντασίᾳ, ὡς μαθησόμεθα τὴν λέξιν βασανίζοντες, καὶ ἄνευ ταύτης οὐδὲν νοεῖ· πῖναξ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ φαντασία τῷ νῷ. τὰ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐγγραφέντα καὶ ἐντυπωθέντα ἀπὸ τῆς κατ' ἐνέργειαν αἰσθήσεως ὁρῶν ὁ νοῦς ἀποσυλᾷ τοὺς καθόλου λόγους αὐτῶν. ὡς γὰρ ἄνευ τῆς κατ' ἐνέργειαν αἰσθήσεως οὐκ ἔστι φαντασία, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἄνευ φαντασίας λήψις τοῦ καθόλου. Themistios (Sophonias), CAG V 6, p. 2.26–29 Wendland: ὁ γὰρ νοῦς συμπλέκεται τῇ φαντασίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ παρὰ τῆς ἐνεργείας αἰσθήσεως γεγραμμένων τύπων ἀποσυλᾷ τὰ καθόλου, καὶ ὥσπερ ἄνευ τῆς ἐνεργείας αἰσθήσεως οὐκ ἔστι φαντασία, οὕτως οὐδὲ ταύτης χωρὶς λήψις τοῦ καθόλου. Also cf. Sorabji's thoughts on a passage of the commentary on book II in his *Preface*: Philoponus (?), *On Aristotle Posterior Analytics* 2, pp. vii–ix Goldin.

⁵⁶ Ebbesen 1981, I p. 314, cf. III pp. 70–71 and 76–77; cf. Kotzabassi 1999, p. 50.

be revisited as well, since he did not use the Vat. 244, which we now know to be the most important manuscript. The same holds true for the excerpts in the Urbinas 35, which most likely date to the 12th century and thus also predate any of the manuscripts Wallies used for his edition.

2. *Analytica Posteriora 1.31, 88a12–17*

There is an ongoing debate on the text at the end of chapter 1.31, and I do not think a convincing solution has been found as of yet.⁵⁷ One of the important manuscripts does, however, provide a hint that has so far not received the deserved attention. This passage also provides a thought experiment on perception and knowledge, as Aristotle examines the hypothetical question of how our visual perception might contribute to understanding the universal if this perception were much better, almost superhuman:

ἐνια γὰρ εἰ ἐωρῶμεν οὐκ ἂν ἐζητοῦμεν, οὐχ ὥς εἰδότες τῷ ὁρᾶν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἔχοντες τὸ καθόλου ἐκ τοῦ ὁρᾶν. οἷον εἰ τὴν ὕαλον τετραπλημένην ἐωρῶμεν καὶ τὸ φῶς διόν, δῆλον ἂν ἦν καὶ διὰ τί καίει, τῷ ὁρᾶν μὲν χωρὶς ἐφ' ἐκάστης, νοῆσαι δ' ἅμα ὅτι ἐπὶ πασῶν οὕτως.

If we could see them, we would not investigate some cases, not because we have knowledge by means of seeing, but because we grasped the whole from seeing. E.g. if we could see that the glass had pores and the light went through, it would also be obvious why it started a fire, by seeing this separately for each (glass), but simultaneously understanding that this is the case for all of them.

Reading καίει (rather than καὶ εἰ or plain καὶ), Ross, like Bekker and Waitz before him, takes up a correction found in several manuscripts that corresponds to the text of Themistios and Philoponos.⁵⁸ The main manuscripts have the verb καίει only in a second, later hand (above the line or directly in the line): Marc. gr. 201 (siglum B), Laur. Plut. 72,5 (siglum d), Vat. gr. 1024 (siglum c)

⁵⁷ Cf. especially Mignucci 1975, pp. 608–10; Barnes 1993, pp. 43, 194; Detel 1993, p. 500 sq.

⁵⁸ Themistios: CAG V 1, p. 38.32–39.2 Wallies; Philoponos: CAG XIII 3, p. 311.15 Wallies.

and Par. gr. 1843 (siglum D). Ross further adopts Bekkers conjecture τῷ ὄρᾶν for τὸ ὄρᾶν (or διὰ τὸ ὄρᾶν in some codices) in the subsequent text. The main manuscripts have multiple corrections in this place, making it impossible to know the original text for all of them. Yet there are only two basic versions, with the text of the first hand in these oldest manuscripts reading either διατί· καὶ εἰ διὰ τὸ ὄρᾶν ... (e.g. Ambr. L 93 sup., siglum n) or διατί· καὶ τὸ ὄρᾶν ... (e.g. Urb. gr. 35, siglum A).

Accepting the verb καίει, Ross adopts the interpretation that this passage describes the effect of a burning glass, which is the same one already found in Themistios: νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἀποροῦμεν, πῶς διὰ τῆς ὑέλου καίει ὁ ἥλιος.⁵⁹ Ross sees this as Aristotle alluding to Gorgias, who according to Theophrastos explained the power of a burning glass by pores in the material structure of the lens.⁶⁰

Philoponos, however, interprets the same passage as referring to the translucence of glass: ... ἀπορεῖται πῶς διὰ τῆς ὑέλου δίεισι τὸ φῶς, καὶ οἱ μὲν φασὶ διὰ τῶν πόρων τῆς ὑέλου διεῖναι τὸ φῶς, οἱ δὲ ἐτέρως· εἰ οὖν ἐωρῶντο οἱ πόροι, οὐκ ἂν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἦν τούτου ἡ ἐπιστήμη.⁶¹ Since Philoponos, like Themistios, would have been reading a version of the passage that had δῆλον ἂν ἦν καὶ διὰ τί καίει, this would have caused him to arrive at an invalid explanation, as Mignucci rightly states.⁶² For he equated the word καίειν in this context with φαίνειν and φωτίζειν to be able to interpret it as ‘glowing’.⁶³ Even though this gloss may be inaccurate, the interpretation that Aristotle is covering the translucence of glass and

⁵⁹ CAG V 1, p. 38.32–33 Wallies.

⁶⁰ Aristotle’s *Prior and Posterior Analytics*, p. 599. Theophrastos himself rejected this theory, as is evident in *De igne* (73, ed. Coutant): ὅτι δ’ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς ἄπτουσι τῇ ἀνακλάσει ἀπὸ τῶν λείων, [τί τὸ ἄπορον; συμμιγνύουσι δὲ τὸ ὑπέκκαυμα] ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς οὐχ ἄπτουσιν, αἴτιον δ’ ἡ τε λεπτομέρεια, καὶ ὅτι συνεχὲς γίνεται μᾶλλον ἀνακλῶμενον, τὸ δὲ ἀδυνατεῖ διὰ τὴν ἀνομοιότητα. ὥστε τὸ μὲν τῷ ἀθροισμῷ καὶ τῇ λεπτότητι διαδύμενον εἰς τὸ ἔκκαυμα δύναται καίειν, τὸ δ’ οὐδ’ ἕτερον ἔχον οὐ δύναται. ἐξάπτεται δὲ ἀπὸ τε τῆς ὑέλου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ χαλκοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀργύρου τρόπον τινὰ ἐργασθέντων, οὐχ, ὥσπερ Γοργίας φησὶ καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τινες οἴονται, διὰ τὸ ἀπιέναι τὸ πῦρ διὰ τῶν πόρων. Cf. Mignucci 1975, p. 609; Aristote, *Seconds Analytiques*, pp. 391–92 Pellegrin.

⁶¹ CAG XIII 3, p. 311.9–12 Wallies.

⁶² Mignucci 1975, p. 609. Cf. Philoponos, *On Aristotle, Posterior Analytics* I.19–34, p. 171 n. 414 Goldin & Martijn.

⁶³ τουτέστι ‘φαίνειν’. εἰ ἐωρῶντο οἱ πόροι, φησί, δῆλη ἂν ἦν ἡ αἰτία τοῦ διὰ τῆς ὑέλου τὸν ἥλιον ἢ τὸ πῦρ φωτίζειν (CAG XIII 3, p. 311.16–17 Wallies).

its causes in this passage is quite correct. This is evident from a parallel in *APo.* (2.11, 94b27–31) noted by Barnes as well as from two further passages from *Problemata Physica* (11.58, 905b2–9; 25.9, 939a10–15) pointed to by Barnes and Detel.⁶⁴ All these passages highlight the translucence of glass or of a lamp, i.e. of an object that must have been made from a translucent material. The cause of the translucence is ascribed to the material structure, which is assumed to have a certain kind of pores.⁶⁵

Thus, Barnes and Detel deviated from the constitution of the text by Ross and other predecessors, to return to the reading of the oldest manuscripts, each arriving, however, at a slightly different conclusion:

Ross: καίει, τῷ

Barnes: καὶ εἰ τὸ⁶⁶

Detel: καὶ εἰ διὰ τὸ⁶⁷

While it is correct to reject the verb καίει and the interpretation of the burning glass and starting a fire, simply reverting to the reading of one of the oldest manuscripts does not in itself appear to offer a convincing solution, necessitating further thought on the matter. A suitable starting point is Parisinus gr. 1843, i.e. the manuscript that is a direct descendant of the *codex vetustissimus* from Sinai for *APo.* and therefore can be considered its substitute for the large missing parts of the Sinai manuscript. Its original reading before correction is unique and only found as a later correction or

⁶⁴ Barnes 1993, p. 194; Detel 1993, pp. 500–01.

⁶⁵ Cf. the parallel in *APo.*: ἐνδέχεται δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἕνεκά τινος εἶναι καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οἷον διὰ τοῦ λαμπτήρος τὸ φῶς· καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης διέρχεται τὸ μικρομερέστερον διὰ τῶν μειζόνων πόρων, εἴπερ φῶς γίνεται τῷ διέναι, καὶ ἕνεκά τινος, ὅπως μὴ πταίωμεν (2.11, 94b27–31).

⁶⁶ Barnes 1993, p. 43. His translation of the entire sentence reads: 'E.g. if we saw the glass to be perforated and the light coming through it, it would also be plain why it does – even if we see each piece of glass separately whereas we think at a single time that it is thus in every case'.

⁶⁷ Detel 1993, p. 501; Aristoteles, *Zweite Analytik*, pp. 116–17 Detel: '... wie etwa wenn wir das Glas durchbrochen und das Licht hindurchgehen sähen, dann auch klar wäre warum – wenn auch nur dadurch, dass wir es getrennt bei jedem einzelnen sähen, dann jedoch zugleich einsähen, dass es bei allen so ist'. One of Detel's arguments against Barnes is the latter's combination of the otherwise separate versions in the oldest manuscripts. Detel bases his text on Ambr. L 93 sup. (= n).

supplementation in other manuscripts. The Parisinus before correction reads:

καὶ αἰ· διὰ τὸ

The scribe here uses the well-known abbreviation of καί that is similar to a Latin letter ‘S’, followed by αἰ. A later hand changed this to καίει (cf. Fig. 8 and 9). Among the oldest independent manuscripts, only Par. gr. 1843 offers αἰ as its original reading – the case will likely have been the same for the Sinaiticus. This adverb is, I believe, required by the context and points to a solution to the problem of constituting the text.⁶⁸ For the question at hand is how we arrive at the insight that processes we can observe as single occurrences always happen in this same manner.

Yet, simply replacing καίει τῷ with the original text in the Parisinus καὶ αἰ· διὰ τὸ, ignoring that it is not completely accurate, as will be explained, is not an option, nor is the resulting text: οἷον εἰ τὴν ὕαλον τετραπλημένην ἐωρώμεν καὶ τὸ φῶς διόν, δῆλον ἂν ἦν καὶ διὰ τί καὶ αἰ· διὰ τὸ ὁρᾶν μὲν χωρὶς ἐφ’ ἐκάστης, νοῆσαι δ’ ἅμα ὅτι ἐπὶ πασῶν οὕτως.

The passage in question requires further intervention both for linguistic and interpretative reasons. Aristotle examines what would happen if our perception were so tremendously good that we could see the light pass through the pores of the glass. I believe his answer was more or less: ‘it would be clear *both why this happens now and why this always happens*, for we would both see it separately for each glass and understand that this happens for any of them’. If this interpretation is valid, we would require at least a νῦν to balance the αἰ. For linguistic reasons, my suggestion would be to further add the verb δίδεισι (or διέρχεται) and repeat the interrogative phrase διὰ τί before αἰ: δῆλον ἂν ἦν καὶ διὰ τί <νῦν δίδεισι> καὶ <διὰ τί> αἰ. The whole sentence would then read e.g.:

οἷον εἰ τὴν ὕαλον τετραπλημένην ἐωρώμεν καὶ τὸ φῶς διόν, δῆλον ἂν ἦν καὶ διὰ τί <νῦν δίδεισι> καὶ <διὰ τί> αἰ· διὰ τὸ ὁρᾶν μὲν χωρὶς ἐφ’ ἐκάστης, νοῆσαι δ’ ἅμα ὅτι ἐπὶ πασῶν οὕτως.

⁶⁸ The variant in the Parisinus was known, as both Bekker and Waitz cite it in their *app. crit.* Ross, however, omitted it. Bekker assigns siglum D to this variant, which he is known to have used to refer to Par. gr. 1843, even though his *conspectus siglorum* accidentally lists Coislinianus 170 for it. Cf. Aristote, *Topiques*, p. CVI n. 1 Brunschwig.

If these supplements come close to the original text (I make no claim that this emendation given as an example would restore the exact original phrasing), the reconstructed text should also offer an explanation of how the error in the transmission could have arisen. In this case, the three occurrences of the preposition διὰ would be to blame. Add to this the nearby verb δίδεισι starting with the same syllable. The transmitted text could easily be imagined to be a consequence of scribal mistakes when copying from an exemplar containing that original text.

So much for the two passages from chapter 1.31 of *Analytica Posteriora*. As has been demonstrated, further detailed analysis of the manuscripts, the Greek commentators from Late Antiquity and the commentaries and scholia contained in the manuscripts can help the textual criticism and interpretation of *APo*. The commentary and explanations in the numerous manuscripts represent a hermeneutic treasure not yet fully recovered. A commentary like the one of Leon Magentinos on the *Analytica Posteriora* needs to be edited with great care and deserves thorough study, and the modern editor would be required to not only identify the various stages of amendment by the scribes, but also indicate them in some way in the edition. Such commentary bears specific and physical witness to the progress of learned work on the text of Aristotle over generations and centuries, and can thus illustrate how the production and use of manuscripts in the context of teaching, exegesis and study both fostered an intellectual and learned approach to the text and helped secure its transmission at the same time.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics*. Translated with a commentary by J. Barnes, Oxford: Oxford University Press, ²1993.
- Aristoteles, *Zweite Analytik. Griechisch-Deutsch*, Text nach W. D. Ross. Übers., mit einer Einl. und Anm. hrsg. von W. Detel, Hamburg: Meiner, 2011.
- Aristoteles, *Analytica Posteriora*, übersetzt und erläutert von W. Detel, I–II, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993. (Aristoteles: Werke in deutscher Übersetzung Bd. 3, Teil 2).
- Aristote, *Seconds Analytiques*. Introduction, traduction, notes, bibliographie et index par P. Pellegrin, Paris: Flammarion, 2005.

- Aristotle's *Prior and Posterior Analytics*. A Revised Text with Introduction and Commentary by W. D. Ross, Oxford: University Press, 1965.
- Aristotelis *Opera*, I & II, ed. I. Bekker, Berlin: G. Reimer, 1831.
- Aristotelis *Organon Graece*, ed. Th. Waitz, pars prior, Leipzig: Hahn 1844, pars posterior, Leipzig: Hahn, 1846.
- Aristote, *Topiques*. Texte établi et trad. par J. Brunschwig, Tome 1, livres I–IV, Paris: Belles Lettres, 1967.
- A. Bülow-Jacobsen & S. Ebbesen (1982), 'Vaticanus Urbinas Graecus 35. An Edition of the Scholia on Aristotle's *Sophistici Elenchi*', in *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin*, 43, pp. 45–120.
- Eustratii in *Analyticorum Posteriorum librum secundum commentarium* (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, XXI 1), ed. M. Hayduck, Berlin: G. Reimer, 1907.
- N. Agiotis (forthcoming), *Leon Magentenos. Comments on Prior Analytics II*. Critical edition with introduction and English translation. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Michaelis Ephesii in *Parva Naturalia commentaria* (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, XXII), ed. P. Wendland, Berlin: G. Reimer, 1903.
- Ioannis Philoponi in *Aristotelis Analytica Posteriora commentaria* cum Anonymo in *librum II*, ed. M. Wallies (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, XIII 3), Berlin: G. Reimer, 1909.
- Philoponus, *On Aristotle, Posterior Analytics 1.1–8*. Translated by Richard McKirahan, London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2014.
- Philoponus, *On Aristotle, Posterior Analytics 1.19–34*. Translated by O. Goldin & M. Martijn, London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2012.
- Philoponus (?), *On Aristotle Posterior Analytics 2*. Translated by O. Goldin, London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2014.
- Themistii *Analyticorum posteriorum paraphrasis*, ed. M. Wallies (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, V 1), Berlin: G. Reimer, 1900.
- Themistii (Sophoniae) in *Parva Naturalia commentarium*, ed. P. Wendland (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, V 6), Berlin: G. Reimer, 1903.
- Theophrastus, *De Igne. A Post-Aristotelian View of the Nature of Fire*, ed. with introd., transl. and comm. by Victor Coutant, Assen: Van Gorcum, 1971.

Secondary Literature

- N. Agiotis (2015), *Inventarisierung von Scholien, Glossen und Diagrammen der handschriftlichen Überlieferung zu Aristoteles' De interpretatione (c. 1–4)*, Working Paper des SFB 980 *Episteme in Bewegung*, No. 5/2015, Freie Universität Berlin. Stable URL online: http://www.sfb-episteme.de/Listen_Read_Watch/Working-Papers/No_5_Agiotis_Inventar.
- R. D. Argyropoulos & I. Caras (1980), *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs d'Aristote et de ses commentateurs. Contribution à l'histoire du texte d'Aristote. Supplément*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Chr. Brockmann (2004), 'Das Papyrusfragment und die ältesten Byzantinischen Textzeugen der *Analytica* des Aristoteles', in *Philologus*, 148, pp. 50–63.
- G. Cavallo (2000), 'Scitture informali, cambio grafico e pratiche librarie a Bisanzio tra i secoli XI e XII', in G. Prato (ed.), *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito*. Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca (Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998), I, Firenze: Edizioni Gonnelli, pp. 219–38; III Tav. 1–28.
- R. Devreesse (1945), *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. II. Le fonds Coislin* (Bibliothèque nationale), Paris: Imprimerie nationale (online via Gallica BnF).
- St. Ebbesen (1981), *Commentators and Commentaries on Aristotle's Sophistici Elenchi. A Study of Post-Aristotelian Ancient and Medieval Writings on Fallacies* (Corpus Latinum Commentariorum in Aristotelem Graecorum, 7,1–3), I–III, Leiden: Brill.
- St. Ebbesen (2015), 'The *Posterior Analytics* 1100–1400 in East and West', in J. Biard (ed.), *Raison et démonstration. Les commentaires médiévaux sur les Seconds Analytiques*, Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, pp. 11–30.
- E. Follieri (1969), *Codices Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae selecti temporum locorumque ordine digesti, commentariis et transcriptionibus instructi*, Città del Vaticano: Bibliotheca Vaticana.
- G. de Gregorio (1991), 'Osservazioni ed ipotesi sulla circolazione del testo di Aristotele tra Occidente e Oriente', in G. Cavallo, G. de Gregorio & M. Maniaci (eds), *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio*. Atti del Seminario di Erice (18–25 settembre 1988), Spoleto, pp. 475–98.
- D. Harlfinger (supplemented by the team of Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina, CAGB), *Description of Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 72,5* <<https://cagb-db.bbaw>>.

- de/handschriften/handschrift.xql?id=16634>. First published in: Moraux, Harlfinger, Reinsch & Wiesner (1976).
- D. Harlfinger & D. Reinsch (1970), 'Die Aristotelica des Parisinus Gr. 1741. Zur Überlieferung von Poetik, Rhetorik, Physiognomonik, De signis, De ventorum situ', in *Philologus*, 114, pp. 28–50.
- D. Harlfinger & J. Wiesner (1964), 'Die griechischen Handschriften des Aristoteles und seiner Kommentatoren. Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen zum *Inventaire* von A. Wartelle', in *Scriptorium*, 18, pp. 238–57.
- H. Hunger (1990/1991): 'Gibt es einen Angeloi-Stil?', in *Römische historische Mitteilungen*, 32/33, pp. 21–35.
- H. Hunger (1991), 'Duktuswechsel und Duktusschwankungen. Zum Versuch einer paläographischen Präzisierung von Handgrenzen', in A. Acconcia Longo, S. Lucà & L. Perria (eds), *Miscellanea di studi in onore di P. Marco Petta per il LXX compleanno = Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, 45, pp. 69–84.
- S. Kotzabassi (1999), *Byzantinische Kommentatoren der aristotelischen Topik. Johannes Italos und Leon Magentinos*, Thessalonike: Εκδόσεις Βάνιας.
- G. Mercati & P. Franchi de' Cavalieri (1923), *Codices Vaticani Graeci*. Tomus I. *Codices 1–329*, Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
- M. Mignucci (1975), *L'argomentazione dimostrativa in Aristotele. Commento agli Analitici Secondi*, Padova: Ed. Antenore.
- E. Mioni (1981), *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices Graeci manuscripti*, I. *Thesaurus antiquus. Codices 1–299*, Roma 1981: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato P. V.
- P. Moraux, D. Harlfinger, D. Reinsch & J. Wiesner (1976), *Aristoteles Graecus. Die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles*, I, Berlin, New York: De Gruyter.
- G. Prato (1982), 'Il monaco Efrem e la sua scrittura', in *Scrittura e Civiltà*, 6, pp. 99–115, pl. 1–8. Reprint in: G. Prato 1994, *Studi di Paleografia Greca*, Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, pp. 13–29, pl. 1–8.
- D. R. Reinsch (2001), 'Fragmente einer Organon-Handschrift vom Beginn des zehnten Jahrhunderts aus dem Katharinenkloster auf dem Berge Sinai', in *Philologus*, 145, pp. 57–69.
- D. R. Reinsch (supplemented by the team of Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina, CAGB), *Description of Milan, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, L 93 sup.*: <<https://cagb-db.bbaw.de/handschriften/handschrift.xql?id=42962>>.

- St Valente (2018), 'Reading and Commenting Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* over the Centuries. (Marginal) Remarks on Some *vetustissimi* of the *Organon* and the Case of the Ambrosianus L 93 sup.', in *Scripta. An International Journal of Codicology and Palaeography* 11, pp. 111–24.
- St Valente (forthcoming a), 'Kommentare zur Zweiten Analytik des Aristoteles aus Spätantike und byzantinischer Zeit: alte und neue Handschriftenfunde', in B. Mondrain (ed.), *Le livre manuscrit grec: écritures, matériaux, histoire*, Proceedings of the IX^e Colloque International de Paléographie Grecque (Paris, 10-15.9.2018), Paris (forthcoming).
- St Valente (forthcoming b), 'The MS Vaticanus Urbinas gr. 35 Revisited. Philological and Exegetical Activity on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, Book 2'.
- A. Wartelle (1963), *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs d'Aristote et de ses commentateurs. Contribution à l'histoire du texte d'Aristote*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- M. F. Williams (1984), *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of Aristotle's Analytics*, Königstein/Ts.: Hain.

Abstract

The relevance of Late Antique and Byzantine commentaries to the analysis of the works of Aristotle is discussed on the example of two passages from chapter 1.31 of *Posterior Analytics*, and it is shown that important textual variants can still be discovered even in known manuscripts of this text. The commentary used is that attributed to John Philoponos (as edited in the *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*), as well as an inedited one found in several manuscripts including Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 244. Two short samples of this latter are first edited and used as an exegetical aid here, demonstrating that it is important evidence for how Greek and Byzantine manuscript culture used Aristotelean texts. A full edition would be most welcome to scholars, as would a new edition of the second volume of (Ps.-)Philoponos based on the Vaticanus and further manuscripts.

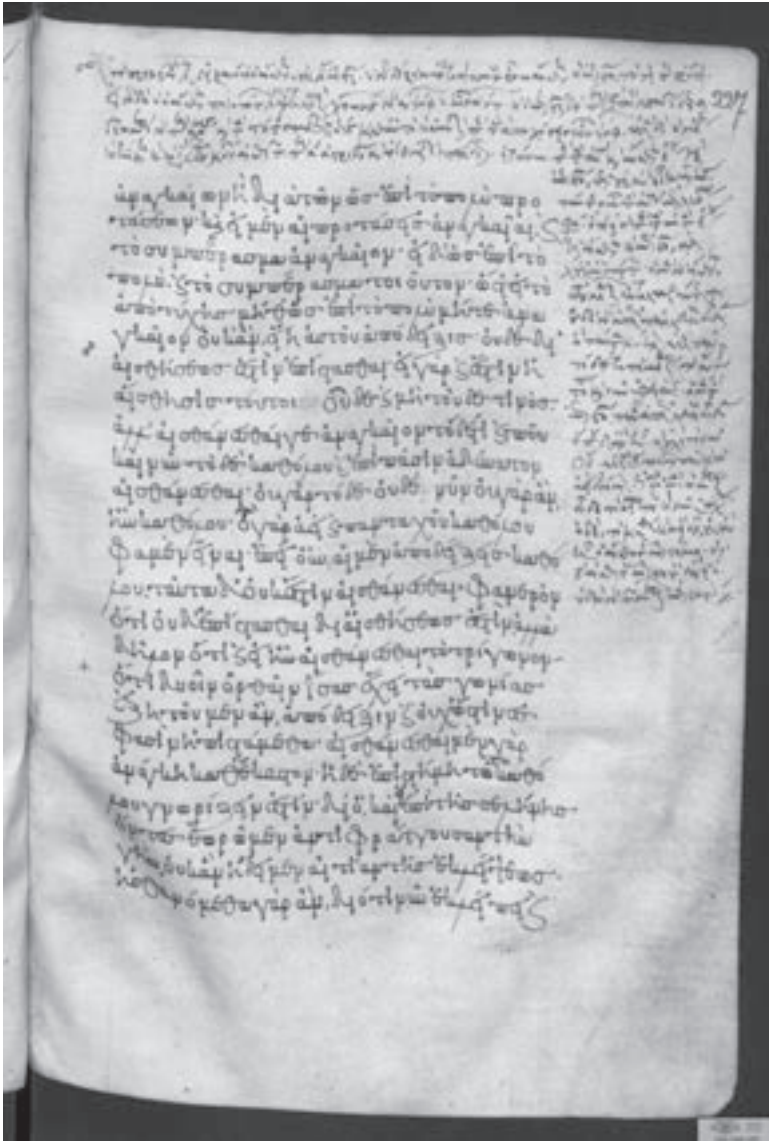


FIG. 1

Milan, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, L 93 sup., fol. 227
 (© Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana)

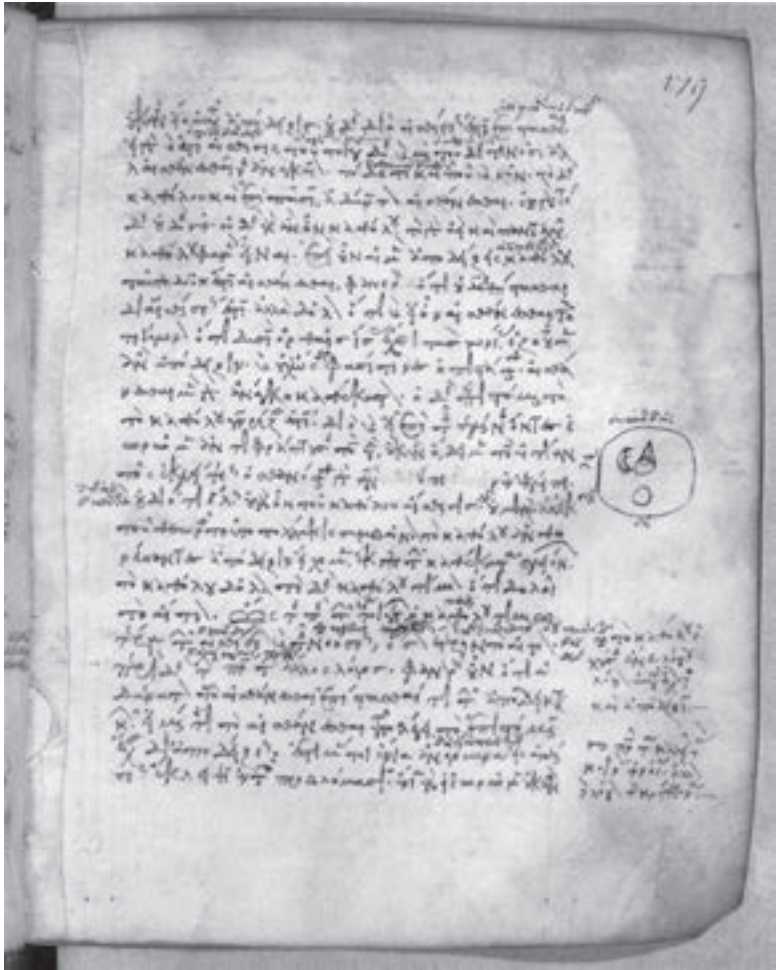


FIG. 2
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 330, fol. 179 (© BnF)

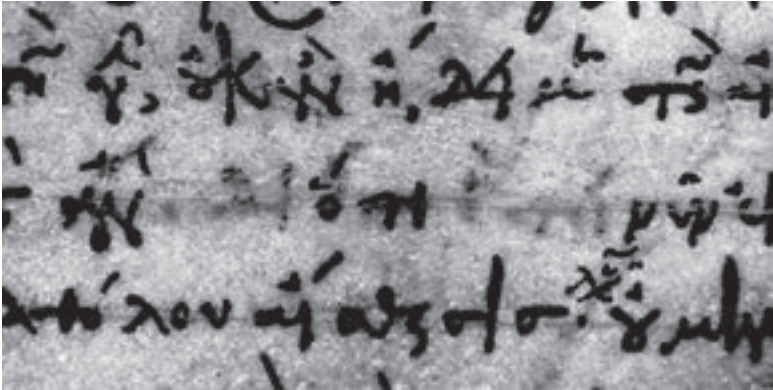


FIG. 3

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 330, fol. 179, Detail (© BnF)

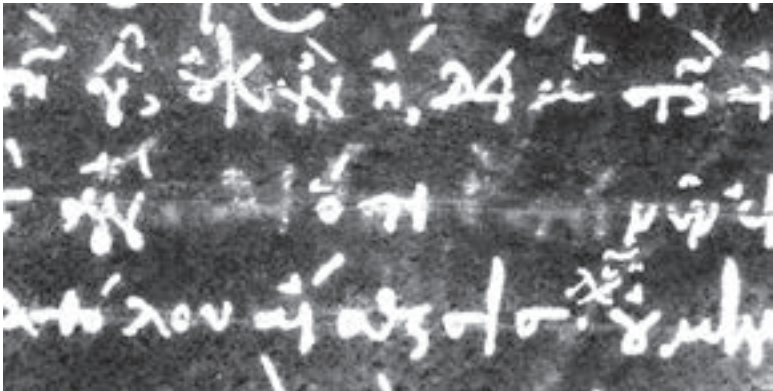


FIG. 4

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 330, fol. 179, Detail (© BnF)



FIG. 5
Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 244, fol. 363
(© 2018 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

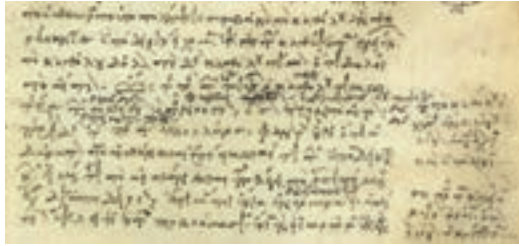


FIG. 6
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 330, fol. 179, Detail (© BnF)

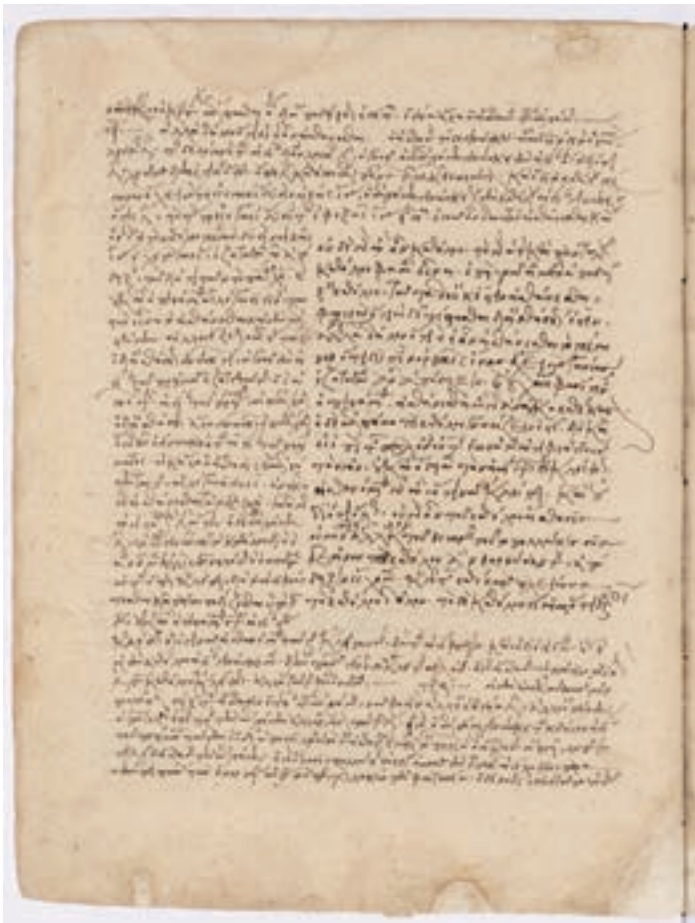


FIG. 7
Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 244, fol. 362^v
(© 2018 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



FIG. 8
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1843, fol. 194 (© BnF)

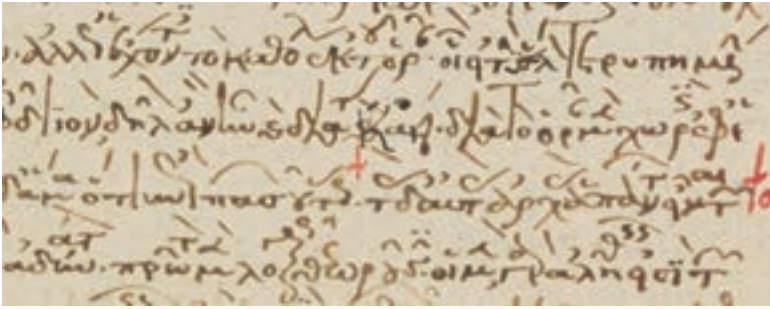


FIG. 9
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1843, fol. 194, Detail (© BnF)

CRITICALLY EDITING A SO-CALLED '*SENTENCES* COMMENTARY'

Modern methods in textual criticism were not employed in editing sets of questions on the *Sentences* before the Second World War, and in hindsight some of the results were predictable. In 1956 the Augustinian Damasus Trapp declared,¹ 'the venture of editing [John] Hiltalingen [of Basel] is in the process of realization', and the present writers are pleased to announce that, with our initiative and scientific collaboration, as well as the ERC's financial support, the five volumes of Hiltalingen's questions on the *Sentences* are now appearing only six decades after Trapp's revelation, edited by Trapp's confrère Venicio Marcolino.² This paper will serve as a general explanation for the long delays in producing such critical editions in this genre.

Among the many books on theology composed in the 12th century, Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, written in Paris around 1150, was to become the dominant text. Lombard divided his *Sentences* into four books, the first on the Triune God, the second on Creation, the third on the Incarnation and the Virtues, and the fourth on the Sacraments and Last Things, which thus constituted a comprehensive work of systematic theology.³ In the medieval

* This paper often employs examples from our own editing work, but many of the conclusions will be common knowledge to students of questions on the *Sentences*, many of whom have inspired our work. Financial support was assured by ERC-Co-DEBATE n° 771589 and RISE project PN-III-P4-ID-PCCF-2016-0064.

¹ Trapp 1959, p. 249.

² Marcolino, coop. Brînzei & Oser-Grote 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019.

³ Rosemann 2007.

universities that had evolved by around 1200, along with law and medicine, theology was a postgraduate field of study, indeed often dubbed the ‘queen of the sciences’. From the second third of the 13th century down to the end of the Middle Ages and beyond, in order to become masters of theology, advanced students or bachelors of theology were obliged to lecture for one (in most cases) academic year on the *Sentences*.⁴ Lectures on the *Sentences* were also delivered all over Europe on a regular basis at the *studia* of the mendicant and monastic orders.⁵ Many of these lecture series were recorded in written form, and the surviving texts, usually consisting of scholastic *quaestiones*, number well over one thousand. According to modern editorial standards, we have complete critical editions for about a dozen of these sets of questions.

1. *The Genre in Brief*

Assuming the task of editing a set of questions on the *Sentences*, traditionally but misleadingly called a ‘*Sentences* commentary’,⁶ a scholar may run into any number of difficulties and impediments that, taken together, may make this particular editorial activity uniquely troublesome. As we shall see below, the complexity of editing a ‘*Sentences* commentary’ is related to the fact that they belong to the most widespread genre of properly academic writing in the Middle Ages, and so placing each work within the corpus of ‘commentaries’ on the *Sentences* is both necessary and time consuming.

What does not seem to present a methodological problem for editing so-called ‘commentaries’ on the *Sentences*, however, is the fact that all of these writings are tied to the textbook, the four books of the *Sentences*. Lombard, the *Magister Sententiarum*, composed his work in Latin and in Paris, so the eventual adoption of the *Sentences* as the theological textbook of the medieval universities and the *studia* of the religious orders did not involve

⁴ For the rise and the evolution of the genre see also the vols I, II and III edited by Evans 2002 and Rosemann 2010 and 2015. For the duration of the lectures see Duba & Schabel 2017 and Schabel 2020.

⁵ Emery, Courtenay & Metzger 2012.

⁶ Schabel 2019.

any issues of translation or major problems of transmission, especially once the Franciscan Alexander of Hales introduced the convenient division of each of the four books into distinctions in the 1220s.⁷

One of us has recently argued, moreover, that there were no commentaries on the *Sentences* in the Middle Ages, both because the term '*Sentences* commentary' or 'commentary on the *Sentences*' was only applied after 1500, and because the great writings on the *Sentences* from the Golden Age, roughly from the burning of the Talmud in 1244 to the departure of German scholars from Paris in the 1380s during the Great Schism, often approach the status of independent treatises in systematic theology that merely adopt the barest skeleton of the structure of the original. Insofar as they relate to Lombard's text, the surviving written questions on the *Sentences* from this period do cover a broad spectrum of attitudes toward the original. At one extreme, there are a few *Expositiones litterales*, in which exegesis of the Lombard is the primary purpose of the text. These examples, however, are rare, do not stem from high-level university or mendicant teaching, and have generally been ignored by scholars interested in the history of thought and thus remain unedited. At the other extreme, we have questions on the *Sentences* merely arranged according to book, without references to distinctions, that follow the sequence of topics of the Master only approximately, omitting issues corresponding to a dozen or more distinctions at a time and adding numerous questions on subjects that Peter Lombard never even considered, for example in the physical sciences or in political thought.

Such was the flexibility of the model that it proved to be a useful introduction to systematic theology at a low level while providing a convenient matrix with which to organize teaching and writing at a high level. Presumably all great theologians in this period heard a presentation and explanation of Peter Lombard's original at some point and many of them in turn presented and explained the text themselves. When the time came to study theology at a place like Paris and eventually to deliver their own high-level lectures in theology, in their principal sermons delivered before each

⁷ That is, 48 for book I, 44 for II, 40 for III, and 50 for IV. See Friedman 2002, p. 44.

book the bachelors continued to heap praise on the author and his textbook,⁸ but in their teaching proper Lombard exegesis played a minor role, a role that in the written redactions appears solely in the introductory material to questions or not at all. Within the actual questions on the *Sentences*, Peter Lombard did retain the sobriquet ‘Master’, but, except on a few topics where the Lombard’s opinion remained noteworthy, he was mainly cited for the authorities he in turn cited or because *ut in littera* became a shorthand way of referring to an argument or quoted passage without having to give the text in full. Yet the *littera* was not in any way the focus of the discussion.

Despite the lack of methodological difficulties relating to the original text to which questions on the *Sentences* were tenuously linked, critically editing these writings does confront the scholar with a particular combination of problems. First, there is the sheer size of the average text: sets of questions on only one of the four books of the *Sentences* routinely take up two, three, or more normal octavo-sized volumes of around 300 pages in a modern edition, and if an author managed to cover all four books the complete set could require ten or more tomes. The Franciscan John Duns Scotus’ *Ordinatio*, for example, from the first decade of the 14th century, required fourteen large volumes, and the *apparatus criticus* was drastically reduced in the final installments. Indeed, the entire first volume of the *Ordinatio* is devoted not to part of book I, but to Lombard’s *Prologus*, just a few lines of text in the original.⁹

Second, many of these works survive in numerous manuscripts as well as early printings, so it is not uncommon to deal with a dozen witnesses, with the most popular texts being extant in fifty copies or more. The huge (more than 1500 columns) *Lectura Mellicensis* of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, read to the Benedictine monks of Melk Abbey in Austria in the early 1420s and covering just book IV minus the seventeen distinctions on marriage, survives in over two hundred manuscripts,¹⁰ while the Prague ques-

⁸ For early speeches see Chenu 1932, and for later examples see Brown 1976 and Dunne 2001. These are not to be confused with the inception speeches treated in Spatz 1992.

⁹ See the reference to the Scotus edition in the Annex.

¹⁰ Brînzei & Schabel 2014, pp. 264–66 (for an addition to the old list of known manuscripts).

tions of the little-known Conrad of Soltau from the late 1370s are found in about sixty-five codices.¹¹

Third, a number of *Sentences* lectures have come down to us in multiple redactions that need to be untangled before any real editing can begin. For example, a Parisian *Sententiarius* may have delivered an earlier set of lectures elsewhere, his Parisian lectures on the *Sentences* required much preparation, and he may have continued to revise written versions afterwards. For this reason, while we may know the chronology of Parisian lectures on the *Sentences*, a crucial date in an academic career, the dates given below for surviving questions will often be more approximate. The complex editing projects of the works on the *Sentences* by the Dominican Durand of Saint-Pourçain (c. 1310)¹² and the Franciscan Francis of Marchia (c. 1320)¹³ illustrate the difficulties of editing popular theological writings deriving from oral lectures in the convents of the mendicant orders.

Fourth and perhaps foremost, we have the *apparatus fontium*: around ten bachelors of theology lectured on the *Sentences* every year at Paris alone, covering the same basic material in roughly the same sequence, such that the potential source material for any given author is intimidating. Some *Sententiarii* cite explicitly dozens of other works on the *Sentences*, for instance the Augustinian John Hiltalingen of Basel, from the late 1360s, who names about three dozen.¹⁴ It is more common, however, for an author to refer to *quidam* or *aliqui* or simply to copy passages with neither attribution nor indication that someone else's words are being employed, a phenomenon we find in many sets of *Sentences* questions, such as that of the Cistercian John of Mirecourt from the mid-1340s.¹⁵ No edition, however, can be considered definitive without tracing these tacit sources, when they survive.

There is, however, one encouraging characteristic of these writings: scribes generally respected these theological texts and

¹¹ See Maga's new census: <http://conradusdesoltau.thesis-project.ro/mss.html>.

¹² See the Thomas Institut's project: <http://www.thomasinst.uni-koeln.de/11754.html>.

¹³ See the reference to the Marchia edition in the Annex.

¹⁴ See the reference to the Hiltalingen edition in the Annex.

¹⁵ Genest & Vignaux 1988, pp. 297–301.

did not intervene willy-nilly, so the number of variants can often be rather low.¹⁶ Moreover, aside from raw *reportationes*,¹⁷ which present their own problems, the manuscripts preserving questions on the *Sentences* usually provide a readable text. Indeed, if one is fortunate enough to find a redaction from a famous author surviving in only one or two manuscripts, in an incomplete state, with a consistent citation practice or at least a predictable use of recent sources, then it is possible to edit an entire set of questions on the *Sentences* in three volumes in less than a decade, as in the case of the Franciscan Adam Wodeham's truncated *Lectura secunda* from his order's Norwich *studium* in the late 1320s, which breaks off at distinction 26 of book I.¹⁸

2. *The Challenge of Editing Questions on the Sentences*

The tradition of the *Sentences* dominated European universities for three centuries, during which sets of questions on the text evolved on different levels: content, structure, style, sources.¹⁹ Even if editors have little trouble dealing with how an individual theologian employed his 'base text', the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, all editors are challenged by the body of writings on that base text that had accumulated by the time their author lectured and/or wrote his own questions on the *Sentences*. In the end, it was not how a theologian employed the Master's text so much as how he utilized the texts of later bachelors – as famous as the Dominican Thomas Aquinas (1250s) or as obscure as the Cistercian Gottschalk of Nepomuk (1360s) – that constitutes the main methodological problem.

As case studies, we will take some examples from the end of the Golden Age, both because they best represent the complexity of the growing body of source material and because they have only recently drawn the attention of modern editors, such that they

¹⁶ This may be less often the case with genres from the Arts Faculty; see for example the rich *apparatus* of some new editions of commentaries on the *Liber de Causis* recently published in Calma 2017.

¹⁷ On *reportationes* of questions on the *Sentences* see now Duba 2017.

¹⁸ See the reference to the Wodeham edition in the Annex.

¹⁹ See the chapters in Evans 2002, especially Friedman 2002.

are chronologically late in origin and in scholarship. In particular, we will look at a number of sets of questions on the *Sentences* from the 1360s and 1370s that are currently being edited, those of John Hiltalingen of Basel OESA, Gottschalk of Nepomuk OCist, James of Eltville OCist, Henry of Langenstein, Henry Totting of Oyta, Pierre d'Ailly, Peter of Candia OFM, and (slightly later in composition) Marsilius of Inghen.

With regard to Peter Lombard and the textbook, the procedure of James of Eltville, who read the *Sentences* at Paris in 1369–1370, is usually simply to say that he is asking a question related to the subject matter of a certain distinction or distinctions. Let us take the long question on distinctions 38–39 of book I, around 1500 lines, as an example. Eltville never remarks about something *in littera* in this question. At one point Eltville comments that 'the Master' explains something very well, although this is not something pertaining to the distinctions at hand, but in the following distinction 40 in the original. When Eltville offers two Augustinian quotations, he then notes that the Master has them too, in distinction 44 of book I and in distinction 12 of book III. In one instance we are given a passage from Hugh of Saint-Victor and then Eltville adds that 'the Master appears to follow it' in various places, including distinctions 38–39, but also distinction 40: this is an 'original' contribution of Lombard, but assigned to Hugh!

The modern reader would not know it, but most of Eltville's question comes from the work of earlier *Sententiarii*. The fact that he does not cite these authors constitutes a significant methodological problem: often a theologian composing questions on the *Sentences* will not mention any of the 'secondary sources' he has before his eyes, and any explicit citations found in his text may instead be references to what he has *not* seen, but only borrowed from others. Once the editor has learned that her medieval author was a borrower, she is faced with the daunting task of searching everywhere for a verbatim or nearly verbatim source for any given passage. It is easiest when the author has just one or a handful of favorite later-medieval scholastics to copy from, but when there are still sections of text left unaccounted for, what then? It would be dangerous to assume that the remaining passages are 'original' to the author, but it may be almost impossible to locate the source. For example, when working on James of Eltville, it was

only by extreme fortune that we found his source for his explicit presentation of Thomas Aquinas' views on divine foreknowledge. In this case, Eltville did not read Aquinas directly and compose a synthetic description of his opinion, but he merely copied that of James of Metz, a Dominican who read the *Sentences* in Paris way back in 1300–1301 and who is virtually never heard from again by name.²⁰ After this discovery, more passages from the Dominican James were identified in the Cistercian James, but with so many dozens of still unedited works on the *Sentences*, it is unlikely that all such sources will be located.

In fact, it is not just *almost* impossible, but impossible *tout court*, for there are many instances even where explicit citations cannot be tracked down merely because the texts have not survived. True, some of them may someday be found in a dusty corner of an archive, and occasionally we can get lucky when a later author had access to a lost text and identifies a *quidam* for us, as happened recently when a reference to a 'Catalan bachelor' cited in a famous set of questions on the *Physics* from about 1330 was discovered to be a citation of the Augustinian bachelor of the *Sentences* at Paris Bernat Oliver from the 1320s, only because an anonymous 15th-century commentator on the *Physics* questions still knew Bernat's works.²¹

Obviously, when our author fails or neglects to mention that he has a source, if that source does not survive we will never know that our author copied the passage in question. On the other hand, the chance identification of such implicit sources can turn out to be crucial for the edition of the source text itself. For example, in the case of the questions on the *Sentences* of Henry of Langenstein (early 1370s), the only witness to his doctrinal positions related to book I is manuscript Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, 144. In the process of editing Nicholas of Dinkesbühl's autograph of his own questions on the *Sentences*, Wien, Schottenstift Bibliothek, 269, this time from lectures given at Vienna around 1400, it was not only discovered that Langenstein was a major source for book I, but also that Dinkelsbühl had access to a manuscript that

²⁰ Schabel 2014, pp. 47–48.

²¹ Schabel 2015b, pp. 182–86.

appears to have contained a more complete text than the codex from Alençon.²²

In other instances, the source is mentioned but no traces of it survive. In such situations the texts being edited become unique witnesses to lost texts, requiring each editor to pay closer attention and attempt to discern what could be verbatim passages. For example, in his questions on book I John Hiltalingen mentions the Augustinian Bonsembiante Badoer and Richard Barbe (both fl. c. 1360) a few times, two authors who enjoyed a certain renown in their day but from whom we have not identified any surviving questions on the *Sentences* proper. From the testimony of Hiltalingen we can determine that both of them were very close to the doctrine of the Franciscan John of Ripa (mid-1350s).²³ The text of Hiltalingen has thus become a valuable testimony to the history of doctrine, even if the *apparatus fontium* will be limited to a *Non extat*.

The material factor of some sets of questions on the *Sentences* constitutes another methodological problem. Let us continue here with the case of the *Sentences* of the Cistercian James of Eltville. The editorial process has to confront twenty-six extant manuscripts and another four witness that are now lost, among them probably the author's own copy.²⁴ Some of the biographical details of Eltville's life are reflected in the circulation of his manuscripts: Eltville was active at the Collège Saint-Bernard in Paris, whence he departed after his *Sentences* lectures to take up his post as abbot of Eberbach. The manuscripts of his questions on the *Sentences* can be ranged into various groups, the most tightly knit one being a German or *Eberbachensis* family. Of course, within all branches every witness stems from a creative and/or fallible scribe who enriched the number of individual variants. Taking the example of the *Prologue* at the beginning of the text, where one would

²² For a demonstration of this situation see Schabel 2015a. Marco Toste is preparing a critical edition of Langenstein's book I.

²³ John Hiltalingen of Basel 2016, p. 217: 'Et in hoc Bonsemlans sequitur ipsum. Sed secundum opinionem Iohannis de Marchia, quem Barbe sequitur quaestione sua prima, diceretur, quod non ab obiecto, sed solum a specie intelligibili'. Other similar examples: pp. 281, 306, 316, 324.

²⁴ See the manuscript from Eberbach's medieval library: Palmer 1998, pp. 323, 330.

expect the scribes to be more careful, we find the text divided into two questions that together consist of around 16,000 words in roughly eight folia. Although, as mentioned above, scribes generally treated questions on the *Sentences* with respect, nevertheless a complete collation of all twenty-six manuscripts still recorded about 4000 variants, from which approximately 75% represent individual errors. A complete *apparatus criticus* would entail reporting one error every four words, meaning that the *apparatus criticus* would take up as much space as the text itself, not including the *apparatus fontium*. For later questions the number of variants increases substantially, further reducing the ratio of text to *apparatus*. What modern publisher would print such a book?

The editor thus has to settle for a critical edition with an incomplete *apparatus*. This has the negative effect of offering an inferior product to those who will study the reception of the author's text. In the case of James of Eltville, for example, this affects future work on the questions on the *Sentences* by theologians from Vienna in the early 15th century. An incomplete *apparatus criticus* for Eltville's edition will hamper efforts to identify the codex (or the precise place in the *stemma* of a lost codex) of Eltville that was used by Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl or Thomas Ebendorfer (1420s) in their extended quotations from the Cistercian. This scenario is familiar to all those who employ the critical edition of the questions on the *Sentences* of the Augustinian Gregory of Rimini (mid-1340s), the *apparatus criticus* of which has been reduced to the bare minimum, provoking frustration in every effort to identify the manuscripts used in the huge reception of Rimini's questions on the *Sentences* after 1350. Eltville himself borrowed extensive passages from the Augustinian, but the critical edition is of little assistance in identifying the codex on Eltville's desk and the extent to which Eltville was faithful to his model.

One final detail about the manuscript tradition of Eltville's text: among the twenty-six witnesses, the oldest manuscript – assuming it is not an early draft – appears to be an abbreviation, further proof of the medieval success of the work. How should this version be incorporated, if at all, into the *apparatus criticus*? Should the editor collate this text and report the differences, just indicate the passages that are summarized, or simply ignore this codex in the editorial process?

This brings us to another methodological complication involving the corpus of questions on the *Sentences*: the subgenre of abbreviated texts. Given that authors sometimes revised, expanded, or contracted their texts, or that one theologian occasionally relied overwhelmingly on only one previous text, it is not always clear without an explicit colophon that a given text is an abbreviation rather than an early or late redaction by the same author or a 'different' work by another theologian. We do have clear examples of abbreviations, like that of the Franciscan Adam Wodeham made by Henry Totting of Oyta (1370s), or that of the Augustinian Alphonsus Vargas of Toledo (mid-1340s) by John of Wasia (1370s), or that of the Franciscan John of Ripa by Paul of Venice (c. 1400) (for the first we have an early modern print, while the last has been critically edited). In parallel with these, we also find instances where a second theologian produces his 'own' work by summarizing that of another, as in the case of the questions on the *Sentences* of Humbert of Prouilly (1290s), who summarized the Augustinian Giles of Rome (early 1270s) for book I and Thomas Aquinas for books II–IV,²⁵ probably with a pedagogical purpose in response to the needs of his Cistercian brothers. Without explicit information, however, we remain in the dark about the nature of other cases of briefer versions of questions on the *Sentences*.

Besides abbreviations, the *Sentences* genre also connects us to a series of other subgenres: *principia*, *vesperiae*, *aulica*, *resumpta*. Starting in the early 14th century, *principia* are the written records of live debates between the bachelors who were about to begin their lectures on a given book of the *Sentences*. Although perhaps not part of a given author's questions on the *Sentences* proper, where *principia* survive they usually accompany the questions in the manuscripts. Moreover, the intrinsic interest of *principia* impels the modern editor to include these texts in the critical edition: *principia* contain rich material concerning doctrinal debates, names of otherwise unknown theologians (*socii*), and fragments of lost writings. Thus, recent editions have incorporated surviving *principia* preceding the questions, notably those of the Augus-

²⁵ Brînzei 2011, pp. 81–148.

tinians Hugolino of Orvieto (1348–1349) and John Hiltalingen and of Pierre d'Ailly (1377–1378).²⁶

Unlike *principia*, which were tied directly to *Sentences* lectures, the *vesperiae*, *aulica*, and *resumpta* were part of the later procedure for a theologian's promotion to master of theology, consisting of questions disputed on the eve, morning, and afternoon of the promotion respectively. An author's *vesperiae*, *aulica*, and *resumpta* may also appear in the same manuscripts as his questions on the *Sentences*, despite the fact that their connection with the *Sentences* lectures is much looser.²⁷

Finally, not all texts associated with *Sentences* lectures are in the form of questions or expositions of the Lombard, but rather serve as aids to the reader or student. Such texts may not contain material of philosophical interest, but sometimes they were 'best-sellers' in terms of circulation. Take here the example of the *Conclusiones* of John de Fonte, composed around 1300 in Montpellier as an instrument addressed to the Franciscan students of Montpellier and surviving in around 100 manuscripts.²⁸ This medieval text is not to be confused with another 'genre' of *conclusiones*, the modern one, represented by André Combes' edition of the *Conclusiones* of John of Ripa: realizing, perhaps, that a full critical edition would require many decades, Combes opted to extract Ripa's bare *conclusiones* from his questions and publish those in a separate volume, although he recognized that his edition read without the questions themselves would be a 'mutilation' of the doctrine of the Super-subtle Doctor.²⁹ Nevertheless, the modern compilation of these medieval *conclusiones* can help the contemporary reader as a guide to the text, while we await the real thing.³⁰

Although it is too early to state definitively, it seems that the genre of abbreviations linked to the *Sentences* steadily increased in popularity. From the late 13th century until the 15th century they played a significant role in the diffusion of theological doctrines.

²⁶ Funded from 2018 to 2023, the project *DEBATE: Innovation as Performance in Medieval Universities*, awarded with Consolidator ERC grant n° 711589, is investigating all surviving *principia*.

²⁷ Bazán 1985.

²⁸ Courtenay 2009, pp. 109–27.

²⁹ Combes 1957, p. 14.

³⁰ Andrea Nannini is preparing the edition of a first volume.

Editions of the most copied examples are therefore important for our understanding of this period.³¹

3. *Helping the Reader Overcome Structural Complexity*

The above methodological considerations for the most part concern the scientific aspects of editing questions on the *Sentences*. Yet often the editor also faces and must overcome methodological difficulties of a more or less practical nature relating to the structural complexity of many of the examples of the genre. How should one best help the reader follow the internal architecture without modifying the text itself? The authors themselves were aware of this difficulty and sometimes inserted an explicit division announced after the title of the question or after the opening arguments *pro* and *contra*. This was insufficient for the more complicated questions, however, in which one finds, for example, three articles, each article divided into various numbers of propositions, in support of each proposition a further set of arguments *pro*, *contra*, and *responsiones*, and a group of corollaries for greater clarity in support of each proposition. Most modern readers, for whom scholastic Latin is not their everyday language of instruction and who are trained to avoid labyrinthine structures in their own writing and, theoretically at least, lectures, will have difficulty following a text of this sort, one that may derive from a more or less spontaneous oral performance.

Recent publications have considered the issue of the complex structure of some questions on the *Sentences*,³² without identifying a satisfying remedy for the reader. Thus far, *ad hoc* solutions have been applied according to the tastes and creativity of the editors: some number paragraphs with internal references in parentheses,³³ others introduce numerous sections and even paragraph titles and subtitles,³⁴ while a few even include maps of each

³¹ Hoenen 2020; Slotemaker 2015, pp. 171–73.

³² Slotemaker 2015, pp. 160–63; Hallamaa 2010, pp. 377–79; Even-Ezra, 2017a, pp. 21–71 and 2017b, pp. 341–76.

³³ Gottschalk of Nepomuk 2016.

³⁴ See for example the edition of Chatton (see Annex), where the editors have inserted numerous elements of division such as these: *Dictum 1*, *Dictum 2*,

question as annexes to their editions.³⁵ To understand the need for a reading guide for such texts we can quote James Long's justification for his efforts to clarify the structure in his edition of the Oxford questions on the *Sentences* of Richard Fishacre (early 1240s):

To assist the reader through such a thicket of arguments and counter-arguments, I have added headings in square brackets to identify the questions (and sometimes the objections, solutions, and responses as well), the structures of which are not always transparent. The *Index rerum* lists those questions that stand free of the text and also a number of extended expositions whose theme would not be readily discernible from the lemma. In addition, I have numbered the arguments and counter-arguments, but arguments to which there were no responses received no number. In thus organizing the material, I repeat, my sole aim was accessibility, and the reader should not be tempted to conclude that there is more order in the text than is in reality there. The truth is that Fishacre's text can often be downright confusing, and no amount of editorial shaping can change that fact.³⁶

If the Byzantine organization of some questions on the *Sentences* were not troublesome enough, we also encounter, especially after 1350, what can be called the 'matryoshka' or 'Russian-doll phenomenon'. We have already mentioned that sets of questions on the *Sentences* from the latter half of the 14th century are often derivative, composed following a cut-and-paste method, a so-called *bricolage textuelle* that describes, methodologically speaking, what in modern terms is identified as plagiarism. The Rus-

Opinio Ockham per quattuor dicta – dictum 1, contra opinionem Ockham contra dictum, etc.

³⁵ In the edition of Richard Fishacre's work on the *Sentences*, the first Oxford example, we find a diagram with the plan of the text at the beginning of each distinction. The edition of Pierre d'Ailly's questions assists the reader with a set of 'maps' published at the end of the volume that offer a detailed plan of the *arbores* of the questions. This is a modern decision, but there is evidence that medieval authors worked with this type of diagram; see for example Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 294, where in the beginning of Fishacre's work there is such a diagram accompanied by the following: 'cuius divisionem in modum arboris ramificatae sic depingo'. On diagrams in questions on the *Sentences*, see Even-Ezra forthcoming, section 5.2.

³⁶ Richard Fishacre 2008, pp. 46–47.

sian-doll phenomenon is the extreme case of genealogical *bricolage textuelle*, when a quotation is nested within another quotation which is in turn nested in yet another quotation, and so on, on multiple levels. The first job of the editor in compiling the *apparatus fontium*, of course, is to identify and reconstruct this process and all participants as precisely as possible. But the task certainly does not end there.

Let us suppose the editor has done the *apparatus fontium* to everyone's satisfaction. How should she present this information visually on the two-dimensional space she has available to her in print form? If we recall that even in the simple instance where one scholastic copies another in a given passage, that passage will often contain quotations of the Bible, or a patristic author, or Aristotle, or some other authority from before the university era, how should these two layers of quotation best be illustrated? Lest one think that this is only a problem for the editor of texts from after the Black Death, there are plenty of examples from much earlier, such as the Dominican William of Peter of Godino, author of the so-called *Lectura Thomasina*, an influential work stemming from lectures delivered at Paris in 1299–1300.³⁷ Indeed, it is probably the case that many of the greatest authors copied or paraphrased much more than we have revealed or admitted.

Yet it gets much worse: what if there is a chain of authors one after the other, quoting the previous person's words, explicitly or otherwise? We recently published the *Filioque* discussion of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl,³⁸ a secular theologian who, as mentioned, lectured on the *Sentences* at Vienna around 1400. The main purpose of the edition was to show how Dinkelsbühl developed his text, because he added extensive marginalia, inserted sheets of paper, and made further marginal notations on those. Photographs assisted in our presentation, but there was more. Dinkelsbühl's main immediate sources, rarely cited, were the Parisian questions on the *Sentences* of three theologians who lectured around 1370, the oft-mentioned Cistercian James of Eltville and the slightly

³⁷ In early 2017, a conference in Cologne on William, the abovementioned James of Metz's immediate predecessor as Dominican bachelor of the *Sentences* at Paris, revealed that the editors, Francesca Bonini and Andrea Colli, have precisely the same difficulty.

³⁸ Schabel 2015a.

younger (and more famous) seculars Henry of Langenstein and Henry Totting of Oyta, the two Henry's being founders of the Viennese Faculty of Theology. Not only do the passages tacitly taken from these theologians include explicit quotations from authorities, but each of Dinkelsbühl's models employed the same methodology that he did. Thus much of Langenstein's presentation is copied or paraphrased or rearranged from the Augustinian Gregory of Rimini from the mid-1340s, who in turn cites explicitly a number of earlier theologians. Similarly, some of what Dinkelsbühl borrows from Oyta without attribution Oyta had taken from the Oxonian Adam Wodeham, active around 1330, including some of Wodeham's extensive (and tacit in Oyta and Dinkelsbühl) quotations of Walter Chatton, another Oxford Franciscan, from the 1320s. Finally, in recycling material from Eltville, Dinkelsbühl accidentally filled his text with the words of Giles of Rome, John Duns Scotus, Richard FitzRalph, John of Mirecourt, and Hugolino of Orvieto, the Mirecourt section being particularly extensive, a dozen consecutive paragraphs.

Sometimes a footnote tied to the start of the paragraph is sufficient to explain to the reader what is happening in that section, although it is awkward and not always very precise. It is even less attractive as a method when the paragraph manifests the Russian-doll phenomenon to the fullest. On occasion, one will have a chain that begins with Scholar A, who has a quotation of Father Z in passage X. Scholar B incorporates passage X and adds to it. Scholar C incorporates Scholar B's passage, modifies and adds to it, and so on. Presenting this situation clearly on the page is complex and requires a friendly attitude on the part of the printer, since in addition to different kinds of quotation marks one may have to employ extensive italics, different sized fonts, and even bold print.

Let us consider a real example. In the first volume of the critical edition of the questions of Pierre d'Ailly, on page 188, in the third of the four apparatuses (the first is for biblical quotations, the second for explicit quotations, the third for implicit ones, and the fourth for variants), one reads that d'Ailly is explicitly quoting Rom. 1. 19, the *Liber viginti quattuor philosophorum*, and Ex. 8. 9. In fact, surrounding this triad of authorities a whole tradition is nested, since the same combination is found implicitly in Alex-

ander Neckam, William of Auxerre, Alexander of Hales, Thomas Aquinas, Albert the Great, and John of Mirecourt in connection with the same doctrinal issue treated by d'Ailly, how philosophical knowledge about the Trinity is possible. Fully unpacking this footnote in the modern critical edition of d'Ailly required an entire article presenting the implicit pedigree of the examples down to d'Ailly's day.³⁹

This practice of nesting quotations is visible not only in the case of canonical quotations from the Bible, the Fathers, or Aristotle, but it also occurs at the level of borrowed arguments. Continuing with Pierre d'Ailly, there is another Russian-doll situation in which passages from the Franciscan Peter Auriol (late 1310s) are used by Walter Chatton, from whom they are borrowed by Adam Wodeham and eventually appear in Gregory of Rimini, arriving in d'Ailly via John of Mirecourt, who seems to have taken them from Wodeham. Within this chain the authors investigate the possibility for knowledge of an absent object, but even if they all reproduce the same arguments, they interpret them in rather different ways.⁴⁰ Faced with this scenario, the editor not only has to decide what to report in the *apparatus fontium*, but also how to portray in the text what is reported in the *apparatus*.

A Catalogue of Editions of Sets of Questions on the Sentences

This paper neither is exhaustive nor covers all problems encountered during the process of editing a set of questions on the *Sentences*. Each project is unique in itself and presents particular technical or practical difficulties. Stegmüller's⁴¹ repertory, dating from 1947, but still the main inventory of questions on the *Sentences*, records around 1400 surviving texts. In order to give the reader an idea of what has been edited and what is still waiting to be published, below we present a list of modern editions, including only critical editions published as individual volumes. Each year editions of fragments of questions or of individual questions enrich

³⁹ Calma 2009.

⁴⁰ A diagram and an interpretation of this case study is in Calma 2012, pp. 479–80.

⁴¹ Stegmüller 1947 with the supplement in Doucet 1954.

the collection of edited texts, and these smaller publications are not noted here.⁴² Our inventory begins with medieval sets of questions on the *Sentences* (one book or more) printed before c. 1600.

Texts Printed Before c. 1600 (44 total)

- Franciscans (18): (13th) Richard de Mediavilla, Alexander of Hales, John de Fonte, Bonaventure; (14th) John Duns Scotus, Francis of Meyronnes, John Bassol, Peter of Aquila, William of Ockham, Landolfo Caracciolo, Adam Wodeham, Andrew of Novocastro, William Rubio, Antonius Andreas, Peter Auriol; (15th) William of Vaurouillon, Nicholas of Orbellis, Stephen Brulefer
- Dominicans (9): (13th) Thomas Aquinas, Hannibaldus of Hannibaldi, Peter of Tarantaise (printed 1652); Peter of Palude, Robert Holcot, Hervaeus Natalis, Durand of Saint-Pourçain, Thomas Sutton (anti-Scotus); (15th) John Capreolus OP
- Seculars (7): (14th) Thomas Buckingham, Pierre d'Ailly, Marsilius of Inghen, Thomas of Arras (according to the USTC); (15th) Henry of Gorkum, Gerard of Zutphen, Gabriel Biel
- Augustinians (6): (13th) Giles of Rome; (14th) Gregory of Rimini, Thomas of Strasbourg, Alphonsus Vargas of Toledo, Dionysius de Modena, Gerard of Siena
- Carmelites (2): (14th) John Baconthorpe, Michael Aiguani
- Cistercians (1): (14th) Conrad of Ebrach
- Carthusians (1): (15th) Dionysius the Carthusian

Modern Editions of Medieval Questions on the *Sentences* (One Volume or More), with Dates for Main Lecture Series

- Gandulf of Bologna (1160–1170), *Magistri Gandulphi Bononiensis Sententiarum libri quatuor*, ed. J. W. von Walter, Wien: Haim, 1924.
- Stephen Langton (1206–1207), *Glose in quattuor libros Sententiarum*, ed. A.-M. Landgraft, Münster, 1952.
- Alexander of Hales (1220), *Glossa in quatuor libros sententiarum Petri Lombardi*, ed. Quaracchi, ed. Rome: Collegi S. Bonaventurae,

⁴² A valuable inventory of such smaller texts, including other genres as well, is in Schönberger & Kible 1994 and later versions.

- 4 vols, 1951–1957 (Bibliotheca franciscana scholastica Medii aevi, 12–15).
- Richard Fishacre (1241–1245), *In secundum librum Sententiarum*, Prol., dist. 1–20, ed. J. Long, München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008; *In tertium librum Sententiarum*, Prol., dist. 1–22, ed. A. Eichinger, H. Kraml & G. Leibold, München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011; *In tertium librum Sententiarum*, dist. 23–40, ed. K. Rodler, München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003.
- Albert the Great (1243–1244), *Opera omnia: Commentarii in I Sententiarum* (dist. 1–25), ed. S. C. E. Borgnet, vol. 25; *Commentarii in I Sententiarum* (dist. 26–48), ed. S. C. E. Borgnet, vol. 26; *Commentarii in II Sententiarum*, ed. S. C. E. Borgnet, vol. 27; *Commentarii in III Sententiarum*, ed. S. C. E. Borgnet, vol. 28; *Commentarii in IV Sententiarum* (dist. 1–22), ed. S. C. E. Borgnet, vol. 29; *Commentarii in IV Sententiarum* (dist. 23–50), ed. S. C. E. Borgnet, vol. 30, Paris: L. Vivès, 1893–1894.
- Bonaventure (1253–1254), *Commentaria in IV libros Sententiarum*, ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, Firenze: Quaracchi, 1882–1889 (*Opera omnia*, vol. 1–4).
- Thomas Aquinas (1253–1254), *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum*, books I–II, ed. P. Mandonnet, 2 vols, Paris: Lethielleux, 1929; book III, ed. M. F. Moos, Paris: Lethielleux, 1956; book IV, dist. 1–22, ed. M. F. Moos, Paris: Lethielleux, 1947; book IV, dd. 23–50, *Opera Omnia* 7.2, Parma: Leonine, 1858; *Les débuts de l'enseignement de Thomas d'Aquin et sa conception de la "Sacra Doctrina": avec l'édition du prologue de son Commentaire des "Sentences"*, ed. A. Oliva, Paris: Vrin, 2006.
- Robert Kilwardby (c. 1255), *Quaestiones in librum primum Sententiarum*, ed. J. Schneider, München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986; *Quaestiones in librum secundum Sententiarum*, ed. G. Leibold, München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992; *Quaestiones in librum tertium Sententiarum*, ed. E. Gössmann, vol. 1, München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1982; *Quaestiones in librum tertium Sententiarum*, ed. G. Leibold, vol. 2, München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985; *Quaestiones in librum quartum sententiarum*, ed. R. Schenk, vols 1–2, München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992–1993.
- Walter of Bruges (1261–1265), *Le questioni sull'Eucaristia di Gualtiero di Bruges O. F. M. (1225–1307)* (IV, dist. 8–13), ed. P. de Mattia, Roma: Pontificia Università Lateranense, 1962.

- William of Mare (1274–1275), *Scriptum in primum librum Sententiarum*, ed. H. Kraml, München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989; *Scriptum in secundum librum Sententiarum*, ed. H. Kraml, München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995; *Scriptum in tertium et quartum librum Sententiarum*, ed. H. Kraml, München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011.
- Giles of Rome (early 1270s), *Reportatio lecturee super libros I–IV Sententiarum. Reportatio Monacensis. Excerpta Godefridi de Fontibus*, ed. C. Luna, Firenze: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2003.
- Peter John Olivi (1290), *Quaestiones in secundum librum Sententiarum*, QQ. 1–48, ed. B. Jansen, Firenze: Quaracchi, 1922; *Quaestiones in secundum librum Sententiarum*, QQ. 49–71, ed. B. Jansen, Firenze: Quaracchi, 1924; *Quaestiones in secundum librum Sententiarum*, QQ. 72–118, ed. B. Jansen, Firenze: Quaracchi, 1926; *Quaestiones de novissimis: ex summa super IV Sententiarum*, ed. P. Maranesi, vol. 1, Grottaferrata: Quaracchi, 2004.
- John of Paris (1293–1294), *Commentaire sur les Sentences: 'Reportatio'. Livre I–II*, ed. J.-P. Muller, vols 1–2, Rome: Pontificum Institutum S. Anselmi, 1961–1964.
- James of Metz (1300–1301), *Dominican Theology at the Crossroads. A Critical Edition and Study of the Prologue to the Commentaries on Peter Lombard's Sentences by James of Metz and Hervaeus Natalis* (Prol., redactio prima q. 5, add, redactio secunda q. 1–6), ed. M. Olszewski, Münster: Aschendorff, 2010.
- Hervaeus Natalis (1302–1303), *Dominican Theology at the Crossroads. A Critical Edition and Study of the Prologue to the Commentaries on Peter Lombard's Sentences by James of Metz and Hervaeus Natalis* (redactio prima, q. 1, 5; redactio secunda q. 1–7), ed. M. Olszewski, Münster: Aschendorff, 2010.
- John Duns Scotus (1302–1303), *Lectura in librum primum Sententiarum. Prologus et Dist. 1–7*, ed. C. Balic, M. Bodewig, S. Buselic, P. Capkun-Delic, B. Hechich, I. Juric, B. Korosak, L. Modric, S. Nanni, I. Reinhold, O. Schäfer, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1960 (*Opera Omnia*, t. 16); *Lectura in librum primum Sententiarum. Dist. 8–45*, ed. C. Balic, C. Barbaric, S. Buselic, P. Capkun-Delic, B. Hechich, I. Juric, B. Korosak, L. Modric, S. Nanni, S. Ruiz de Loizaga, C. Saco Alarcón, O. Schäfer, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1966 (*Opera Omnia*, t. 17); *Lectura in Librum secundum Sententiarum. Dist. 1–6*, ed. L. Modric, S. Buselic, B. Hechich, I. Juric, I. Percan, R. Rosini, S. Ruiz de Loizaga, and C. Saco Alarcón, Città del Vaticano:

Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1982 (*Opera Omnia*, t. 18); *Lectura in Librum secundum Sententiarum. Dist. 7–44*, ed. Commissio Scotistica, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1993 (*Opera omnia*, t. 19); *Lectura in librum tertium sententiarum. Dist. 1–17*, ed. B. Hechich, B. Huculak, J. Percan, S. Ruiz de Loizaga, C. Saco Alarcón, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 2003 (*Opera Omnia*, t. 20); *Lectura in librum tertium sententiarum. Dist. 18–40*, ed. B. Hechich, B. Huculak, J. Percan, S. Ruiz de Loizaga, C. Saco Alarcón, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 2004 (*Opera Omnia*, t. 21); *Ordinatio I. Prol.*, ed. C. Balic, M. Bodewig, S. Buselic, P. Capkun-Delic, I. Juric, I. Montalverne, S. Nanni, B. Pergamo, F. Prezioso, I. Reinhold, O. Schäfer, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1950 (*Opera Omnia*, 1); *Ordinatio I. Dist. 1–2*, ed. C. Balic, M. Bodewig, S. Buselic, P. Capkun-Delic, I. Juric, I. Montalverne, S. Nanni, B. Pergamo, F. Prezioso, I. Reinhold, and O. Schäfer, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1950 (*Opera Omnia*, 2); *Ordinatio I. Dist. 3*, ed. C. Balic, M. Bodewig, S. Buselic, P. Capkun-Delic, B. Hechich, I. Juric, B. Korosak, L. Modric, I. Montalverne, S. Nanni, B. Pergamo, F. Prezioso, I. Reinhold, O. Schäfer, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1954 (*Opera Omnia*, 3); *Ordinatio I. Dist. 4–10*, ed. C. Balic, M. Bodewig, S. Buselic, P. Capkun-Delic, B. Hechich, I. Juric, B. Korosak, L. Modric, S. Nanni, I. Reinhold, O. Schäfer, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1956 (*Opera Omnia*, 4); *Ordinatio I. Dist. 11–25*, ed. C. Balic, M. Bodewig, S. Buselic, P. Capkun-Delic, B. Hechich, I. Juric, B. Korosak, L. Modric, S. Nanni, I. Reinhold, O. Schäfer, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1959 (*Opera Omnia*, 5); *Ordinatio I. Dist. 26–48*, ed. C. Balic, M. Bodewig, S. Buselic, P. Capkun-Delic, B. Hechich, I. Juric, B. Korosak, L. Modric, S. Nanni, I. Reinhold, O. Schäfer, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1963 (*Opera Omnia*, 6); *Ordinatio II. Dist. 1–3*, ed. C. Balic, C. Barbaric, S. Buselic, B. Hechich, L. Modric, S. Nanni, R. Rosini, S. Ruiz de Loizaga, C. Saco Alarcón, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1973 (*Opera Omnia*, 7); *Ordinatio II. Dist. 4–44*, ed. B. Hechich, B. Huculak, J. Percan, S. Ruiz de Loizaga, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 2001 (*Opera Omnia*, 8); *Ordinatio III. Dist. 1–17*, ed. B. Hechich, B. Huculak, J. Percan, S. Ruiz de Loizaga, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 2006 (*Opera Omnia*, 9); *Ordinatio III. Dist. 26–40*, ed. B. Hechich, B. Huculak, J. Percan, S. Ruiz de Loizaga, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 2007 (*Opera Omnia*, 10); *Ordinatio IV. Dist. 1–7*, ed. Hechich, B. Huculak, J. Percan, S. Ruiz de Loizaga, W. Salamon, G. Pica, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglot-

- tis Vaticanis, 2008 (*Opera Omnia*, 11); *Ordinatio IV. Dist. 8–13*, ed. B. Hechich, J. Percan, S. Recchia, S. Ruiz de Loizaga, W. Salamon, G. Pica, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 2010 (*Opera Omnia*, 12); *Ordinatio IV. Dist. 14–42*, ed. H. Hechich, J. Percan, S. Recchia, S. Ruiz de Loizaga, W. Salamon, G. Pica, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 2011 (*Opera Omnia*, 13); *Ordinatio IV. Dist. 43–49*, ed. B. Hechich, J. Percan, S. Recchia, S. Ruiz de Loizaga, G. Pica, Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 2013 (*Opera Omnia*, 14); *Reportatio IA*, Prol., dist. 1–21, ed. et trans. A. B. Wolter & O. V. Bychkov, *John Duns Scotus. The Examined Report of the Paris Lecture: Reportatio I-A*, vol. 1, St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 2004; *Reportatio IA*, Prol., dist. 22–48, ed. et trans. A. B. Wolter & O. V. Bychkov, vol. 2, St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 2008; Prologues of *Reportatio IA*, *Reportatio IB*, *Reportatio IC*, *Additiones Magnae*, ed. K. Rodler, *Die Prologe der Reportata Parisiensia des Johannes Duns Scotus*, Innsbruck: Studia, 2005.
- John of Sterngassen (between 1307 and 1323), *Johannes von Sterngassen OP und sein Sentenzenkommentar*, ed. W. Senner, vols 1–2, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995.
- Durand of Saint-Pourçain (1309–1310), *Scriptum super IV libros Sententiarum: Distinctiones 18–35 libri primi*, ed. F. Retucci, M. Perrone, Leuven: Peeters, 2019; *Scriptum super IV libros Sententiarum: Distinctiones 4–17 libri primi*, ed. M. Perrone & F. Retucci, Leuven: Peeters, 2017; *Scriptum super IV libros Sententiarum: Distinctiones 1–5 libri secundi*, ed. F. Retucci, Leuven: Peeters, 2012; *Scriptum super IV libros Sententiarum: Distinctiones 22–38 libri secundi*, ed. F. Retucci & M. Perrone, Leuven: Peeters, 2013; *Scriptum super IV libros Sententiarum: Distinctiones 39–44 libri secundi*, ed. M. Perrone, Leuven: Peeters, 2014; *Scriptum super IV libros Sententiarum: Distinctiones 1–7 libri quarti*, ed. G. Gulentops & G. Pellegrino, Leuven, 2014; *Scriptum super IV libros Sententiarum: Distinctiones 43–50 libri quarti*, ed. T. Jeschke, Leuven: Peeters, 2012.
- Peter Auriol (1317–1318), *Scriptum super primum Sententiarum* (Prol.-d. 1; dd. 2–8), ed. E. M. Buytaert, vol. 1–2, St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 1952–1956.
- William of Ockham (1317–1318), *Scriptum in librum primum Sententiarum. Ordinatio* (Prol.-d. 1; dd. 2–3; dd. 4–18; dd. 19–48), ed. G. Gál, S. Brown, G. J. Etzkorn & F. E. Kelley, vol. 1–4, St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 1967–1979; *Quaestiones in librum secundum Sententiarum (Reportatio)*, ed. R. Wood & G. Gál, St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 1981; *Quaestiones in librum tertium Sententiarum (Reportatio)*, ed. G. J. Etz-

- korn & F. E. Kelley, St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 1982; *Quaestiones in librum quartum Sententiarum (Reportatio)*, ed. R. Wood, G. Gál & R. Green, St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 1984.
- John of Reading (1319–1323), *Theology and Science in the Fourteenth Century: Three Questions on the Unity and Subalternation of the Sciences from John of Reading's Commentary on the Sentences*, ed. S. J. Livesey, Leiden: Brill, 1989; *Scriptum in primum librum sententiarum* (Dist. 1: q. 1–6), ed. F. Florentino, Paris: Vrin, 2011.
- Peter of Navarre (c. 1320), *In primum Sententiarum scriptum* (Prol.-d. 18; dd. 19–48), ed. P. Saguéz Azcona, vol. 1–2, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones, 1974.
- Francis of Marchia (1319–1320), *Francisci de Marcia sive de Esculo Commentarius in IV libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi (Reportatio: Principia, Prol.; book I, dd. 1–10; book I, dd. 11–28; book I, dd. 29–48)*, ed. N. Mariani, vol. 1–4, Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 2003–2009; *Reportatio IIA (Quaestiones in secundum librum Sententiarum)* (qq. 1–12; qq. 13–27; qq. 28–49), ed. T. Suarez-Nani, W. O. Duba, E. Babey, G. Etzkorn & D. Carron, vol. 1–3, Leuven: Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 2008–2013; *Quaestiones praeambulae et Liber primus Sententiarum*, ed. N. Mariani, Roma: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 2019.
- Walter Chatton (1321–1323), *Reportatio et Lectura super Sententias: Collatio ad librum primum et Prologus*, ed. J. C. Wey, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989; *Reportatio super Sententias* (book I, dd. 1–9; book I, dd. 10–48; book II; books III–IV), ed. J. C. Wey & G. J. Etzkorn, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, vol. 1–4, 2002–2005; *Lectura super Sententias. Liber I* (dd. 1–2; dd. 3–7; dd. 8–17), ed. J. C. Wey & G. J. Etzkorn, vol. 1–3, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2007–2009.
- William of Brienne (1330–1331), *Principia*, ed. W. Duba, *The Forge of Doctrine. The Academic Year 1330–1331 and the Rise of Scotism at the University of Paris*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2017.
- Adam Wodeham (1331–1332), *Lectura secunda in librum primum Sententiarum* (Prol.-d. 1; d. 2–7; d. 8–26), ed. G. Gal & R. Wood, vol. 1–3, St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 1990.
- Robert Holcot (1331–1332), *Seeing the Future Clearly: Questions on Future Contingents* (II, Q. 2), ed. P. A. Streveler & K. Tachau, Toronto: Pontifical Institute, 1995.
- Roger Roseth (mid. 1330s), *Lectura super Sententias*, qq. 3–5, ed. O. Hallamaa, *Science in Theology. Studies in the Interaction Between*

- Late Medieval Natural Philosophy, Logic, and Theology*, Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2005.
- Peter of Aquila (1336–1337), *Commentaria in 4 libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi*, ed. C. Paolini, Levanti: Conv. SSmae Annuntiationis, 1907–1909.
- Gregory of Rimini (1343–1344), *Gregorii Ariminensis OESA Lectura super primum et secundum sententiarum* (Prologus, dist. 1–6), ed. A. D. Trapp, V. Marcolino, W. Eckermann, M. Schulze, M. Santos-Noya, W. Simon & W. Urban, vol. 1, Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 1981; *Lectura super primum et secundum sententiarum* (book I: dist. 7–17), ed. V. Marcolino, M. Santos-Noya, W. Simon & V. Wendland, vol. 2, Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 1982; *Lectura super primum et secundum sententiarum* (book I: dist. 19–48), ed. V. Marcolino, W. Simon, W. Urban & V. Wendland, vol. 3, Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 1984; *Lectura super primum et secundum sententiarum* (book II: dist. 1–5), ed. A. D. Trapp, M. Santos-Noya & M. Schulze, vol. 4, Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 1979; *Lectura super primum et secundum sententiarum* (book II: dist. 6–18), ed. A. D. Trapp, Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 1979; *Lectura super primum et secundum sententiarum* (book II: dist. 24–44), ed. V. Marcolino, W. Simon & V. Wendland, vol. 6, Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 1980.
- Hugolino of Orvieto (1348–1349), *Commentarius in quattuor libros Sententiarum* (Principium I, Prologus, dist. 1), ed. W. Eckermann, vol. 1, Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1980; *Commentarius in quattuor libros Sententiarum* (book I: dist. 3–48), ed. W. Eckermann, vol. 2, Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1984; *Commentarius in quattuor libros Sententiarum* (book II: Principium II, dist. 1–44), ed. W. Eckermann, coop. V. Marcolino, vol. 3, Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1986; *Commentarius in quattuor libros Sententiarum* (book III: Principium III, dist. 1–37, book IV: Principium 4, dist. 1–50), ed. W. Eckermann, coop. V. Marcolino, vol. 4, Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1988.
- John of Ripa (c. 1354–1355), *Questio de gradu* (principia), ed. A. Combes & P. Vignaux, Paris: Vrin, 1964; *Lectura super primum Sententiarum: Prologi questiones 1 et 2*, ed. A. Combes, Paris, 1961; *Lectura super primum sententiarum: Prologi quaestiones ultimae*, ed. A. Combes & F. Ruello, Paris: Vrin, 1970.
- John Hiltalingen of Basel (1365–1366), *Lectura super quattuor libros Sententiarum, super primum librum* (book I: Principium I, Qu. 1–3), ed. V. Marcolino, coop. M. Brînzei, C. Oser-Grote, vol. 1, Würzburg: Augustinus bei Echter, 2016; *Lectura super quattuor libros Sententiarum, super primum librum* (book I: Qu.: 4–35), ed.

- V. Marcolino, coop. M. Brînzei & C. Oser-Grote, vol. 2, Würzburg: Augustinus bei Echter, 2017; *Lectura super quattuor libros Sententiarum, super secundum librum* (book II: Principium II, Qu. 1–28), ed. V. Marcolino, M. Brînzei, coop. C. Oser-Grote, vol. 3, Würzburg: Augustinus bei Echter, 2018; *Lectura Super Quattuor Libros Sententiarum, super tertium librum*, ed. V. Marcolino, M. Brînzei, coop. C. Oser-Grote, vol. 4, Würzburg: Augustinus bei Echter, 2019.
- Gottschalk of Nepomuk (1367–1368), *Prologus*, ed. A. Baumgarten, *Godescalc de Nepomuk, Teologia ca dispozitie stiintifica. Prolog la Comentariul la cartea Sentintelor*, Iasi: Polirom, 2016.
- Henry of Langenstein (1371–1372), *Der Sentenzenkommentar des Heinrich von Langenstein. Lateinische textkritische Ausgabe* (books II–IV), vol. I–IV, ed. R. Damerau, Marburg, 1979–1980.
- Pierre d'Ailly (1377–1378), *Questiones super primum, tertium et quartum librum Sententiarum. Principia et questio circa prologum*, ed. M. Brînzei, vol. 1, Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.
- Marsilius of Inghen (1392–1396), *Quaestiones super quattuor libros Sententiarum: Super primum, quaestiones 1–7*, ed. M. Santos-Noya, Leiden: Brill, 2000; *Super primum, quaestiones 8–21*, ed. M. Santos-Noya, Leiden: Brill, 2000; *Super Primum, quaestiones 22–37*, ed. M. Hoenen & M. Erne, Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Antonius of Carlenis (1439–1440), *Four Questions on the Subalternation of the Sciences*, ed. J. Livesey, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1994.
- Paul of Venice (c. 1402), *Super primum Sententiarum Johannis de Ripa Lecturae Abbreviatio, Prologus*, ed. F. Ruello, Firenze: Olschki, 1980; *Super primum Sententiarum Johannis de Ripa lecturae abbreviatio. Liber I*, ed. F. Ruello, Firenze: Olschki, 2000.
- Denys the Carthusian (c. 1422), *Opera Omnia*: t. 19–25, cura e labore monachorum sacri ordinis Cartusiensis, Montreuil-sur Mer-Tournai: Parkminister, 1902–1913.
- John Eck (c. 1500), *In primum librum sententiarum annotatiunculae D. Iohanne Eckio Praelectore, anno ab Christo nato 1542, per dies caniculares, quos alioqui a studiis gravioribus ferari solebat*, ed. W. L. Moore, jr., Leiden: Brill, 1976.
- Giles of Viterbo (c. 1515), *The Commentary on the Sentences of Petrus Lombardus*, ed. D. J. Nodes, Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Electronic editions or fragments of editions can be accessed at the www.thesis-project.ro (Alfonsus Vargas Toletanus, Thomas of Strasbourg, Denis of Modena, Michael Aiguani of Bononia, Andrea of Novocastro, Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl), www.lombardpress.org, and <http://candia.ucy.ac.cy/> (Peter of Candia).*

Secondary Literature

- B. C. Bazán (1985), 'Les questions disputées, principalement dans les facultés de théologie', in B. C. Bazán, J. F. Wippel, G. Fransen & D. Jacquart (eds), *Les questions disputées et les questions quodlibétiques dans les facultés de théologie, de droit et de médecine*, Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 13–149.
- M. Brînzei & C. Schabel (2014), 'The Past, Present, and Future of Late Medieval Theology: The Commentary of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl', in P. W. Rosemann (ed.), *Medieval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard. Volume 3*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, pp. 174–266.
- M. Brînzei (2014), 'Enquête sur la tradition manuscrite du commentaire des *Sentences* du cistercien Jacques d'Eltville', in *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale*, 56, pp. 247–62.
- S. F. Brown (1976), 'Peter of Candia's Sermons in Praise of Peter Lombard', in R. S. Almagno (ed.), *Studies Honoring Ignatius Charles Brady Friar Minor*, St Bonaventure, NY: The Franciscan Institute, pp. 141–76.
- D. Calma (ed., 2016), *Neoplatonism in the Middle Ages. New commentaries on 'Liber de Causis' and 'Elementatio Theologica'*, vol. I–II, Turnhout: Brepols.
- M. Calma (2009), 'La connaissance philosophique de la Trinité selon Pierre d'Ailly et la fortune médiévale de la proposition *Monas genuit monadem*', in *Przegląd Tomistyczny*, 15, pp. 121–47.
- M. Calma (2012), 'Jean de Mirecourt et les échos de la philosophie anglaise à l'Université de Paris au XIV^e siècle', in *Universalità della Ragione. Pluralità delle Filosofie nel Medioevo. XII Congresso Internazionale di Filosofia Medievale, Palermo, 17–22 settembre 2007*, vol. II.1, ed. A. Musco et al., Palermo: Officina di Studi Medievali, pp. 471–80.
- M.-D. Chenu (1932), 'Maîtres et bacheliers de l'Université de Paris v. 1240. Description du manuscrit Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 15652', in *Études d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale du XIII^e siècle*, Paris: Vrin, pp. 11–39.
- W. J. Courtenay (2009), 'Johannes de Fonte's *Conclusiones in libros Sententiarum*. The Wolfenbüttel Manuscripts', in J. Meirinhos & O. Weijers (eds), *Florilegium Mediaevale. Etudes offertes à Jacqueline Hamesse à l'occasion de son éméritat*, Louvain-la-Neuve: FIDEM, pp. 109–27.
- V. Doucet, OFM (1954), *Commentaires sur les Sentences. Supplément au Répertoire de M. Frédéric Stegmüller*, Firenze: Quaracchi.

- W. O. Duba (2017), *The Forge of Doctrine: The Academic Year 1330–1331 and the Rise of Scotism at the University of Paris*, Turnhout: Brepols.
- W. O. Duba & C. Schabel (2017), 'Remigio, Scotus, Auriol, and the Myth of the Two-Year *Sentences* Lecture at Paris', in *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales*, 84 (2017), pp. 143–79.
- M. Dunne (2001), 'A Fourteenth-Century Example of an *Introitus Sententiarum* at Oxford: Richard FitzRalph's Inaugural Speech in Praise of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard', in *Mediaeval Studies*, 63, pp. 1–30.
- K. Emery, W. J. Courtenay & S. M. Metzger (eds, 2012), *Philosophy and Theology in the 'Studia' of the Religious Orders and at Papal and Royal Courts: Acts of the XVth Annual Colloquium of the Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale, University of Notre Dame (8–10 October 2008)*, Turnhout: Brepols.
- G. Evans (ed., 2002), *Medieval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard. Volume 1: Current research*, Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- A. Even-Ezra (2017a), 'Schemata as Maps and Editing Tools in 13th Century Scholasticism', in *Manuscripta*, 61/1, pp. 21–71.
- A. Even-Ezra (2017b), "Visualizing Narrative Structure in the Medieval University: *Divisio textus* Revisited," *Traditio*, 72, pp. 341–76.
- A. Even-Ezra (forthcoming), *Lines of Thought: Unravelling a medieval cognitive habit*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- R. Friedman (2002), 'The *Sentences* Commentary, 1250–1320. General Trends, the Impact of the Religious Orders, and the Test Case of Predestination', in G. Evans (ed.), *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard. Volume 1: Current Research*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, pp. 41–128.
- J.-F. Genest & P. Vignaux (1988), 'La bibliothèque anglaise de Jean de Mirecourt: "subtilitas" ou plagiat?', in O. Pluta (ed.), *Die Philosophie im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. In memoriam Konstanty Michalski (1879–1947)*, Amsterdam: Bochner.
- O. Hallamaa (2010), 'On the Limits of the Genre: Roger Roseth as a Reader of the *Sentences*', in P. W. Rosemann (ed.), *Medieval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard. Volume 2*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, pp. 369–404.
- M. J. F. M. Hoenen (2020), 'Heymericus de Campo (+1460) reads Peter Lombard: Late-Medieval Abbreviations of the *Libri Sententiarum*', in M. Brînzei & C. Schabel (eds), *Philosophical Psychology in late Medieval Commentaries on Peter Lombard's Sentences. Acts of the XIVth Annual Symposium of the S.I.P.E.M. (Nijmegen 28–30 October 2009)*, Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 105–53.

- N. Palmer (1998), *Zisterzienser und ihre Bücher. Die mittelalterliche Bibliotheksgeschichte von Kloster Ebrach im Rheingau*, Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner.
- P. W. Rosemann (2007), *The Story of a Great Medieval Book: Peter Lombard's Sentences*, Peterborough: Broadview Press.
- P. W. Rosemann (ed., 2010, 2015), *Medieval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard. Volume 2–3*, Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- R. Schönberger & B. Kible (eds, 1994), *Repertorium edierter Texte des Mittelalters aus dem Bereich der Philosophie und angrenzender Gebiete*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- C. Schabel (2014), 'Dominican Anti-Thomism: James of Metz's Question on Divine Foreknowledge, with a Rebuttal from the *Correctorium Iacobi Metensis*', in *Przegląd Tomistyczny*, 20, pp. 35–72.
- C. Schabel (2015a), 'Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and the Filioque at Vienna in the Early Fifteenth Century', in M. Brînzei (ed.), *Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and the Sentences at Vienna in the Early Fifteenth Century*, Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 15–83.
- C. Schabel (2015b), 'The *Questiones libri Physicorum* by Franciscus Marbres (alias Johannes Canonicus). Part I: Author, Text and Reception', in *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale*, 57, pp. 171–255.
- C. Schabel (2019), 'Were There *Sentences* Commentaries?', in P. Bermon & I. Moulin (eds), *Commenter au Moyen Âge*, Paris: Vrin, pp. 241–64.
- C. Schabel (2020), 'Ockham, the *Principia* of Holcot and Wodeham, and the Myth of the Two-Year *Sentences* Lecture at Oxford', in *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales*, 87.
- J. T. Slotemaker (2015), 'Henry of Gorkum's *Conclusiones Super IV Libros Sententiarum*: Studying the Lombard in the First Decades of the Fifteenth Century', in P. W. Rosemann (ed.), *Medieval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard. Volume 3*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, pp. 143–73.
- N. Spatz (1992), '*Principia*. A Study and Edition of Inception Speeches Delivered before the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris, ca. 1180–1286' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Cornell University, 1992).
- F. Stegmüller (1947), *Repertorium commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi*, 2 vols, Würzburg: Schöningh.
- D. Trapp (1956), 'Augustinian Theology of the 14th Century: Notes on Editions, Marginalia, Opinions and Booklore', in *Augustiniana*, 6, pp. 146–274.

Abstract

Rarely 'commentaries' in the strict sense, texts deriving from lectures on the *Sentences* in theological faculties and mendicant *studia* are linked to Peter Lombard's original. Sets of questions on the *Sentences* present special challenges to the modern editor, due to the daunting size of many of the texts, the frequently intimidating number of manuscripts in which these writings are preserved, the common existence of multiple redactions, and their structural complexity. Moreover, the popularity of the genre and some authors' tendency to recycle material without attribution considerably complicate the task of compiling an accurate *apparatus fontium*, since these texts were composed within a dense tradition much of which is lost or remains in manuscript. This paper outlines these obstacles and provides catalogues of early prints and modern editions of questions on the *Sentences*.

SARA MENZINGER
Law Faculty, University of 'Roma Tre'

THE PAST, THE OTHERS, HIMSELF: THE OPEN DIALOGUE OF A MEDIEVAL LEGAL AUTHOR WITH HIS TEXT

1. *Introduction*

Our approach to medieval legal editions today is still deeply influenced by the perspective adopted during the 19th century, especially in Germany and, as a consequence, in Italy, given the close relationship between these two countries in the field of legal culture. The great debates that took place in Europe surrounding medieval philology, especially in the literary field during the second half of the 20th century, had an altogether limited impact on medieval legal philology, where the myth of the authorial text to a great extent still persists. The idea of a text as absolute expression of the author's thinking, as mirror of the free thought of who is writing, surprisingly remains one of the least acknowledged anachronisms in medieval legal philology today. At the root of this persistent perspective likely lies the rigid biographical frame within which Friederich Karl von Savigny organized his *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*,¹ a work centred on the authorial figures rather than on their works.² Given the influence of the boundaries laid out by Savigny on the subsequent developments of European legal history, the biographical approach still represents a tradition from which it has been difficult to break free.

This does not mean that medieval legal manuscripts have not been the object of research and specific studies: on the contrary, legal philology and palaeography has developed so much in the

¹ Savigny 1815–1831.

² As it was pointed out by Kantorowicz 1938, p. 213.

last two centuries, that it is considered a proper science. But this science still focuses, to some extent, on the *tradition* of doctrinal legal texts, that is on how and where legal texts were *transmitted*, while it assumes that, at the origins, there was *one* defined text, written by *an* author, a text that necessarily had a beginning, a middle and an end. If today we accept the idea that a medieval legal text changed extensively because of its *tradition*, we still believe, however, that an original and fully-assembled medieval legal work existed in a primordial stage.

The deepest reflection on these issues in recent times can be found in the work of Anders Winroth. Working on a pivotal text in the canon law tradition, the *Decretum Gratiani*, Winroth raises important questions concerning not just this specific work, but the medieval legal tradition in general.³ The emphasis given by Winroth to the problem of the different versions of the *Decretum* and the identification of parts not ascribable, in his opinion, to Gratian, draw attention to an important issue: the frequency of multiple versions among the medieval legal works. Winroth's incisive statement on the *Decretum*, where he declares: 'In any case, the *Decretum* can no longer be read as a homogenous product of one person, one time, and one place', could be applied to multiple medieval legal works.⁴ The reasons are many: according to Winroth, the early circulation of the original version of the *Decretum* in the canon legal schools implied the multiplication of commentaries on the text, which quickly led to a second enlarged version of the *Decretum* not ascribable, in his opinion, to Gratian. In the case of the *Summa Trium Librorum* of Rolandus de Luca – the first medieval treatise entirely devoted to Roman public law, edited by myself and Emanuele Conte – the existence of more than one version is the result of the interventions of the author himself on the text.⁵ In other cases, for example the *quaestiones* or, to a certain extent, also the *glossae*, multiple versions are the consequence of literary genres that are conceived in themselves as open, collective

³ Winroth 2000.

⁴ Winroth 2000, p. 193.

⁵ Conte & Menzinger 2012, ch. I ('Il testo e l'autore'), pp. xv–xxvi, and especially pp. xviii–xx.

and updatable.⁶ What is certain is that if we are confronted with a legal text written before the middle of the 14th century, we should distance ourselves from a set of beliefs, if we don't want to suppress the peculiarity of medieval legal texts.

I'll make clear at once that, as a consequence of this reasoning I don't deny that there was a real text or that there was a real author, nor do I think that the reconstruction of a medieval legal work is therefore impossible or completely artificial. On the contrary, I'm a great supporter of critical editions provided that we take into account the deep alterity of the Middle Ages.

In the civil legal texts that from the 12th century onwards produced the great renaissance of the Roman legal tradition, which for the first time re-emerged in all its complexity, quotations represent one of the areas in which the distance between a medieval legal text and a present one is evident. In the references to both the so-called old 'sources' and to contemporary works, the perception of the boundary between the present and the past, and of the boundary between one's own work and the works of others, is very different from the meaning we attribute to it today. In particular, the current boundary that divides the publication of a text from potential publication of subsequent versions of the same text by the author himself or by others, should in no way be extended to the Middle Ages.

In recent years, some studies have emphasized the importance of material factors: certainly, the circulation of the works in manuscript codices, which are innately modifiable and subject to reader interventions in ways the printed text is not, is the most distinguishing factor separating medieval cultural production from modern. In addition to this, are the factors specific to university knowledge, and legal knowledge in particular. For instance, the system of production *in peciae* typical of university settings, which divides the text into booklets to be reproduced individually, contributes to the unlikelihood that a 'complete and author-

⁶ On the *quaestiones*, see below. On the thorny question of the *glossae* as 'living texts', see Kuttner 1959, p. 453; Torelli 1934, pp. 429–584; important considerations are scattered by Caprioli throughout the many essays gathered in his volume *Satura Lanx* of 2015. See also Dolezalek 1985, I, pp. 29–42, where Dolezalek analyses the question of the authorial myth from Savigny onwards. On the same question, Mari 2005, pp. 62–63.

ized text of a given commentary or apparatus of glosses'⁷ would survive. However, these and other important material differences alone do not explain the license with which the medieval author and reader approached the texts, as a comparison with Antiquity demonstrates. Despite the presence of similar material conditions in ancient times, the divide between work and reader was much clearer.⁸ Therefore, it is necessary to combine such concerns with historical, cultural, and psychological considerations, as Hermann Kantorowicz grasped just under a century ago. In his important work, *Einführung in die Textkritik. Systematische Darstellung der textkritischen Grundsätze für Philologen und Juristen*,⁹ published in 1921, Kantorowicz drew attention to what he defined as the 'Unpersönlichkeit' of medieval works, referring precisely to the limited authorial presence in the juridical texts of the High Middle Ages in particular. He saw the collective nature as a distinctive trait of the medieval text, which, due to its capacity to absorb works of other authors, led to what Kantorowicz repeatedly labels 'plagiarism' of the medieval jurist. He returned to the topic of authorship approximately 20 years later when he dedicated pages of great importance to what he called 'medieval anonymity' in his 1938 work, *Studies in the Glossators of the Roman Law*. In this work, Kantorowicz explains that historiography neglected many anonymous legal texts as a direct result of Savigny's authorial approach.¹⁰

The depth of Kantorowicz's reflections struck anyone who had encountered an edition of a medieval legal text and, one century later, many of his insights remain fundamentally valid. What has changed instead is the current perspective from which we view medieval legal texts. Their qualification no longer requires the

⁷ Lepsius 2011, p. 296; on the *pecia* and on the effects of this form of text reproduction on the legal works, see Soetermeer 1997.

⁸ On similarities and differences between Antiquity and Middle Ages in relation to the attitude of the readers towards the text, there is a large body of literature: see especially the important pages devoted to the subject by Pasquali 1952, pp. 15–17, Vårvaro 1970, pp. 86–88, and Orlandi 2008, pp. 27–30 (with bibliography quoted).

⁹ Kantorowicz 1921, excellently edited and translated in Italian by Atzeri & Mari 2007.

¹⁰ Kantorowicz 1938, p. 213. On the anonymity in medieval legal works, see Mari 2005, p. 57.

view adopted by Kantorwicz, who in the first decades of the 20th century had to account for an absence – absence of the author, absence of the authorial sense, absence of a single and exclusive edition, however justified this view is in some regards. ‘Impersonality’, ‘anonymity’, ‘plagiarism’, these are terms that negatively spin concepts that we tend to frame differently today. The interventions on the text, especially frequent in legal works, are seen today as testimony to the vitality of the medieval world, more often considered enriched, not impoverished, by the active cycle of the author/copyist/reader.

The belief that knowledge is a process of collective acquisition rather than an individual experience, in which the communal charge to pursue the truth prevails, is shared by all branches of medieval knowledge. Although in some instances individual ideas were recognized and the culture of anonymity criticized or disparaged by some authors (like Roffredus de Benevento, or Pyllius de Medicina and Placentinus), a true assertion of authorship would not become common until well into the *Trecento*. Prior to this, all seemed licensed to expand on themes expressed in the commentary, at times integrating the text and modifying its contents: if a theme tackled by a jurist was treated in other works, the author would not hesitate to include even the lengthiest passages composed by others in his own text without a citation. This holds true even in cases where the passage of another jurist was opposed to the author’s position or contradicted the convictions of the author himself: medieval scholasticism is a dialectical science that identifies the hermeneutic process in the juxtaposition of opposing arguments. There was no pressure, especially in the 12th and 13th centuries, to propose an authorial solution to diverging interpretations.

Such flexibility of the legal doctrinal commentaries was inversely proportional to the growing rigidity of the normative texts: the new citation style adopted by the medieval lawyers from the 12th century onwards implied a fixed normative text, that should not be modified. In the field of civil law, the amazing work on the Roman sources undertaken in Bologna by Irnerius and his school, determined also a new and special attention to the disposition and order of the legal texts of the *Corpus iuris*;¹¹ in the field of

¹¹ Bellomo 1997, pp. 35–36; Conte 2009, pp. 75–77.

canon law, the inviolability of the decretals collections became an even bigger concern starting from Innocent III (d. 1216).¹²

Based on my experience with the edition of the oldest complete medieval commentary on Roman public law, I'll try to discuss some of the mentioned issues in order to contribute to the wider debate on the editions of medieval legal texts. For this purpose, I'll focus on three peculiar aspects: I) the dialogue of a medieval lawyer with the past; II) the dialogue of a medieval lawyer with contemporary authors; III) the dialogue of the medieval author with himself.

2. *Dialogue with the Past*

For the author of a civil legal text writing from the 12th century onwards, the *Corpus iuris civilis*, the great collection of Roman Law texts that the Emperor Justinian had compiled in 6th century as a sign of his deep respect for the old Roman Legal tradition, represented the past. Over the course of a relatively short period, the rediscovery of vital sections of this culture, especially the Digest, entirely forgotten for five centuries, exposed a radical new cultural heritage that, at least at an early stage, permeated medieval legal thought.

As is well known, the *Corpus iuris* of Justinian is a multi-layered composite of sediments from very different ages, where classical and pagan constitutions intermingle with legal texts produced under Christian influence. The chronological stratification of Roman legal texts was however scarcely perceived from the first decades of the 12th century to the beginnings of the 14th: in the first two centuries following the rediscovery of Roman legal heritage, the thousands of Roman legal texts transmitted by the *Corpus iuris* were not projected into an historical dimension, but rather received as a homogenous heritage.

The tendency towards 'appropriation of the tradition'¹³ is one of the more important factors which shortened the distance between the Middle Ages and Antiquity. In the huge effort of

¹² Cortese 1995, II, pp. 213–14.

¹³ For the meaning of this expression in Kantorowicz, see the preface of Atzeri & Mari 2007, p. xvii.

actualizing or modernizing Antiquity, undertaken by the medieval legal experts from the 12th century onwards, the Roman legal experience became literally a part of the medieval thought, imposing new categories for classifying reality: property, taxes, contracts, personal rights and obligations were completely re-shaped according to the new/old Roman framework, a framework which shortly dominated the Italian legal minds and city courts. Such general premises are important to understand why, to the eyes of a medieval lawyer, the Roman past was actually not past, but an integral part of his cultural perspective.

In the medieval legal texts, the relation with the past is materialized and put into effect through what we usually call 'quotations', a deceptive word in many aspects which risks misleading us. The first definition of the term 'quotation' in the *Oxford Dictionary* is the following:

Quotation: 1. a group of words taken from a book/play/speech, etc. and repeated because it is interesting and useful.

According to these simple words, saying that an author is making a 'quotation' means literally that he is taking a part of a text *independent* from the text he is writing, which is materially placed *outside* the text that he is composing, in order to support or explain the arguments that he is dealing with. Since this is the common meaning of 'quotation'/'citation' in the modern era, it has long seemed natural to project our vision on medieval texts, treating as 'quotations' the countless references to the Roman constitutions made by the Medieval legal authors; considering, in other words, the so-called citations of Roman texts as *external* to the principal writing, namely the medieval legal commentary.

Such a perspective is clearly visible if we look at the places where editors have inserted the quotations in past and modern editions of medieval legal texts. For quite a while, the importance given to the authorial work and the consequent need to foreground the text of the medieval author has implied a devaluation of the references to the learned law, considered at most quotations which played a complementary and subsidiary role to the *real* text. The references to the so-called legal *sources*, and especially to Roman law, were often considered baggage that weighed down the text, and they were therefore shortened or even cut from the edited works.

From the first half of the 20th century onwards, critical editions began to be published according to more stringent criteria, and the editions of medieval legal texts standardized a citation style which has been widely accepted and has become prevalent today. The critical edition of the *Tractatus de Maleficiis* of Albertus Gandinus, published by Hermann Kantorowicz in 1926,¹⁴ had a pivotal importance for the following editions, not just because since then it has functioned as a model, but also because it encouraged Kantorowicz to explain how to deal with particularly thorny issues in the editions of medieval legal texts. The quotations, or better the ‘allegations’ (Allegationen) – as he started to call the references to Roman Law – were given very careful consideration by Kantorowicz,¹⁵ who, in this respect, said explicitly that ‘ohne ihr Verständnis bleiben Schriften und Schriftstücke unverständlich’.¹⁶ If all the references to canon and civil law entirely regained their importance in his edition – thanks to Kantorowicz’s impressive effort to identify and explain the medieval legal abbreviations used by Gandinus¹⁷ – they were however permanently transformed in an apparatus. The alphanumeric references that explain to the reader where to find the passages of Roman or Canon law quoted by the medieval author in the modern editions were definitively confined to the footnotes, in order to build a second apparatus that followed the real critical apparatus.

The official approval of this citation style by Stephan Kuttner in his fundamental paper ‘Notes on Presentation of Text and Apparatus’ published in 1959,¹⁸ left an indelible mark on how legal sources were quoted in most critical editions of medieval texts printed since then. In particular, Kuttner’s idea according to which:

¹⁴ Kantorowicz 1926.

¹⁵ He devoted to them a specific article: Kantorowicz 1935.

¹⁶ Kantorowicz 1935, p. 15.

¹⁷ Even if the identifications are not always correct, as has been pointed out, among others, by Sbriccoli 1998; on the limits of the edition of Kantorowicz, see also Quaglioni 1999, with special reference to what he says about the critics of Domenico Maffei.

¹⁸ Kuttner 1959, pp. 452–64. Part of the recommendations were inserted by Kuttner already in 1955, in his ‘Notes on the Roman Meeting, on Planning and Method’, pp. 438–39.

The *apparatus fontium* consists of a separate set of notes to be printed underneath the *apparatus criticus*. Its purpose is the brief identification of authorities referred to in the text, especially (a) of legal sources cited in short form (*allegationes*) or fully quoted; (b) of scriptural, patristic, classical, and other references or quotations.¹⁹

has invariably determined the construction of a double critical apparatus which, with a few exceptions, has accompanied the editions of civil and canon medieval legal texts since 1955/1959.²⁰

In a small number of cases over the last decades, some editors have instead chosen to put the references to learned law in brackets inside the text, with abbreviations and numbers that explain to the reader which part of the *Corpus iuris* – or of other sources – the medieval author is quoting.²¹ This technique differs from the instructions issued by Kuttner in the above mentioned ‘Notes’, where the author openly declared his opposition to the citations inside the text:

The *apparatus fontium* is the only legitimate place for the identification of references. The possibility of placing the identification within parentheses in the text, directly after the authority cited – e.g. by writing ‘xiv. q.vi. Si res aliena (c. 1)’ – has been carefully considered but must be rejected. The apparatus will be correlated with the text by suprascript serial numbers, not by line count as in the *apparatus criticus*. The numbers will be raised above the line, without parenthesis.²²

It could seem at first glance a matter of secondary importance, but the place where the editor chooses to put the quotations is instead of great importance. Kuttner actually did not reveal the reasons why he strongly believed that the identification of references to learned law within the text ‘must be rejected’. It is possible that he

¹⁹ Kuttner 1959.

²⁰ Among the editions of civil legal texts, see, by way of example, Belloni 1989, or, more recently, Wallinga 2005; but the examples could easily multiply.

²¹ So Dolezalek 1985, in all the passages edited and published in his *Repertorium* (see for example the *Lectura Codicis secundum Roffredum Beneventanum*: II, p. 845); Bellomo 2008, for all the *allegationes* mentioned in the *quaestiones in iure civili disputatae* edited by him; Conte & Menzinger 2012, in the edition of the *Summa Trium Librorum* of Rolandus de Luca.

²² Kuttner 1959.

took such a strict position because of the sizeable dimensions that identification of canon law quotations can sometimes assume, in comparison to those of civil law. But even if the identification of learned law references within the text is to a certain extent violent towards the text, because it implies the presence of ‘foreign objects’ within parentheses and bends the medieval legal text to a vision that is more ours than the author’s, it represents in my opinion the quotation style to adopt in the edition of medieval legal texts. It conveys at least a visual message to the reader that the contents of the passages quoted by the medieval lawyer are an essential part of the text and not external to it.

Kantorowicz’s idea that ‘die Allegationen, also die Verweise auf die Rechtsquellen, sind keine Zitate’²³ has been an important starting point in order to realize how far the modern concept of ‘quotation’ is from the cultural perspective of the medieval lawyer. The recent reflection of Diego Quaglioni on the term *allegare* goes further, emphasizing the necessary interdependence between text and quotation: the *auctoritas* quoted by the medieval author, says Quaglioni, is such an essential part of his legal argument that the legal argument would collapse without it. Therefore, the aim of the quotation is not to adorn the text; rather, it plays a supplementary role to the legal-technical reasoning of the medieval lawyer.²⁴

The words of Quaglioni refer to the recurring literary references in medieval legal works, but they can nevertheless be applied to the quotations of Roman law: the medieval lawyer does not invoke ancient legal texts in order to support or legitimize his work; rather, he reasons within the Roman heritage, he thinks according to Roman categories that are not external to his intellectual perspective, but represent an integral part of his thought.

In order to understand this idea better, it is important to remember that medieval legal authors knew many sections of the

²³ Kantorowicz 1935, p. 16: ‘Die Allegationen, also die Verweise auf die Rechtsquellen, sind keine Zitate, d.h. wörtliche oder annähernd wörtliche Wiedergaben einer Stelle; sie enthalten lediglich die zur Auffindung der gemeinten Stelle erforderlichen Angaben’.

²⁴ ‘*allegare* ... nel lessico giuridico medievale non indica la semplice citazione, ma il rinvio ad una *auctoritas*, intesa come l’appiglio autorevole senza il quale l’argomentazione giuridica non può stare in piedi. Non è dunque a scopo esornativo che il giurista trova lecito allegare poeti e poesia, ma in funzione integrativa del discorso tecnico-giuridico’. Quaglioni forthcoming; see also Quaglioni 2004.

Corpus iuris by heart. Together with the Bible, the great collection of Justinian was one of the most memorized texts in the high medieval intellectual circles, until printing was invented.²⁵ What we see today as abbreviations and numbers were, in the mind of he who wrote the text, sentences and concepts that the author knew by heart; his memory could sometimes be supported by manuscripts of the *Corpus iuris* that the author may or may not have owned in his workplace. The same remarks can be applied to his contemporary readers, an audience of specialized lawyers who in their years spent in the law schools as students or professors learned by heart great parts of the *Corpus iuris*, or at least the important *sedes materiae* upon which the medieval legal science developed a debate. The copyists as well could be included among those who sometimes shared this legal mnemonic patrimony, as the identification, correction, extension or even misinterpretation, in some cases, of the allegations originally inserted by the author – when detectable – often testify. This active attitude towards the text that Kantorowicz read in terms of ‘lack’ – the lack of consciousness of authorship in the Middle Ages – shows, if read in positive terms, the great cultural vitality of the legal environment in medieval Europe. The written page implied a larger unwritten text, a latent text present in the mind both of the author and of the reader, that could be reactivated by the author. Through the incessant use of references, the medieval legal author had the power to activate the mnemonic knowledge of thousands of legal arguments and cases lying in the memory of medieval scholars.

In his recent book about Dante and the law, Justin Steinberg describes a similar process in the field of medieval literature, in order to explain the relationship between Dante (and his readers) and the tradition in the *Divina Commedia*. According to Steinberg:

The oft-told tales found in the *Purgatorio* in fragmentary form serve as prompts, triggering recollections of the collective and interiorized narratives that not only Dante and the souls but readers as well were no doubt expected to supply.²⁶

²⁵ Kantorowicz 1921, as presented in Atzeri & Mari 2007, pp. 57–58.

²⁶ Steinberg 2013, p. 84, but see his entire section ‘Literary Tradition, Political Crisis and the Disappearance of Virgil’, pp. 82–88, with special reference to

An interesting demonstration of the shared mnemonic knowledge in the legal field is represented by the so-called tacit or implicit quotations, that is allegations that are not introduced by the ritual words *ut in*, followed – in civil law texts – by the book, the title and the law; tacit quotations don't reveal the ancient source to which they are referring, but consist rather of simple sentences or cases known by heart by the author and his readers, which therefore did not need explanation.²⁷ As it has been pointed out by Susanne Lepsius, the famous Italian lawyer Bartolus de Saxoferrato wrote just one word in his text (for example: *responsus* or *publicum*) as a memento for the allegation he had in mind, that he himself or somebody else would have expanded afterwards.²⁸ The mnemonic culture, incidentally, is also the reason why the allegations of the medieval lawyers (or of the copyists of their works) were often mistaken;²⁹ since the *Corpus iuris* consists of a huge amount of books, columns, sections, titles and laws it was very easy to get it wrong if an author relied only on his memory.³⁰

p. 85: 'Dante's response to the political vacuum of his day was thus to provide for posterity an encyclopedic archive of verbal and visual cues capable of summoning forth the authoritative yet dormant scripts of social behavior. Like the effigies of dead loved ones engraved on the top of tombs, these triggers "prick" the memory and "spur" ... the conscience, almost as a bodily reflex'.

²⁷ See, for example, the *Summa Trium Librorum* of Rolandus de Luca (Italy, 12th-13th century), *Summa* in tit. C. 11.30, § 52: 'Precipue autem ut ecclesia iueatur ut res publica inde aperte sumitur, quia Iustinianus posuit in una parte ius divinum cum publico pertinente ad civitates, et in alia parte ius privatum, cum dixit "Ut inter divinum publicumque ius et privata commoda competens discretio fiat etc." (C. 1.2.23)'; or, *Summa* in tit. C. 11.55, § 8: 'Subvenit quoque rusticis cum dixit "Nullum credentem agricole tenere eius terram" (Auth. coll. 4.5 = Nov. 34)': both the passages are edited in Conte & Menzinger 2012, pp. 321, 398.

²⁸ Lepsius, 2011, pp. 305, 311.

²⁹ For the memory as generative cause of errors, see Kantorowicz 1921, as presented in Atzeri & Mari 2007, pp. 57–58, and the preface of Atzeri & Mari 2007, pp. xxiv–xxv.

³⁰ See the following examples of wrong allegations drawn from the *Summa* of Rolandus: *Summa* in tit. C. 11.22, § 3: 'De hac splendidissima Tyrorum colonia duxit originem nobilem Ulpianus, fuit enim nobilissimus, ut ff. de excus. l. iiii. (D. 27.1.4, *sed melius* D. 50.15.1)'; *Summa* in tit. C. 12.60, § 13: 'Dissonat tamen quod dicitur: "ne, cum in utrumque festinet, neutrum bene peragit", ut C. de postulando l. ult. (C. 2.6.8, *sed melius* C. 1.51.14)'; *Summa* in tit. C. 12.63, § 5: 'Pro publica quidem letitia mittebant civitates suos legatos ad gratulandum Principi, ut colligitur in ff. de min. xxv. annis (D. 4.4, *sed melius* D. 4.6.35.1)': ed. in Conte & Menzinger 2012, pp. 307, 522, 525.

We usually emend these mistakes by signalling both the place erroneously indicated by the author and the one to which we think the author was actually referring, with the words *sed melius*.³¹ Anyway, such discordances were not always due to mistakes, but to the way the Roman law texts were arranged in the medieval manuscripts, which not always corresponds to the order established by Paul Krüger and Theodor Mommsen in the modern editions of the *Corpus iuris* we all use today. For example, the inversion of the numeration of a *titulus* in the medieval manuscript could simply result from the fact that a certain constitution of the Justinian *Codex* was Greek and – as it often happened – not translated into Latin but simply omitted.³² Furthermore, as is well-known to specialists, the tradition of the *Corpus iuris* itself has been very problematic, and the modern editions we use are full of arbitrary interventions undertaken by the German editors.³³

Both kinds of quotations, that is the implicit ones and the wrong ones, present some of the thorniest problems for the modern editor since, unlike medieval authors, legal historians today don't know the legal sources by heart, but can rely on the huge memory of the web, putting in quotation marks the sentence that they think is a tacit quotation, or the sentence that they cannot find in the expected place of the *Corpus iuris*.³⁴

But modern technologies contribute to improving editions of medieval legal texts not just because they help solve problems, but – more interestingly – because they allow us to get closer to the way the medieval lawyer reasoned when he wrote and the way his text was originally understood by the readers.³⁵ A digital edition of a medieval legal text would for example allow us to read simul-

³¹ See the previous note.

³² See Kantorowicz 1921, as presented in Atzeri & Mari 2007, p. 21.

³³ See the critics to Theodor Mommsen and his edition of the *Corpus iuris*, in Kantorowicz 1921, as presented in Atzeri & Mari 2007, p. 47; these critics and in general the tradition of the *Corpus iuris* in the Middle Ages are analysed in Radding & Ciaralli 2007, pp. 25–30 and elsewhere in the book.

³⁴ For Roman Law allegations, one of the most useful websites is 'The Roman Law Library', by Yves Lassard and Alexander Koptev (<http://droitromain.upmf-grenoble.fr>). For an up-to-date overview of the best websites for medieval law, see Dondorp & Schrage in Cairns & Du Plessis 2010, pp. 7–56, 8–9.

³⁵ For a general reflection on computer science and critical editions: Mari 2005, pp. 111–20.

taneously the work of the author and the allegations indicated by him: if we cut and pasted the Roman laws and constitutions mentioned by the medieval lawyer from the digital text of the *Corpus iuris* and put them in the footnotes of a digital edition in expanded form, we could read the integral Roman text simply by getting close with the computer mouse and reading the text in the window that would appear.³⁶ This is the way in which we should assemble editions of medieval legal texts today, in order to understand the complexity of the lines we are reading and the complexity that was originally in the author's mind. We lose much of it in any other traditional form of editing.

Nonetheless, nobody would compile an edition of a medieval legal text in this way, since all the legal references given by the medieval author could be read elsewhere, and such an apparatus would seem a waste of ink and paper in traditional editions, and pleonastic and redundant also in digital ones. The truth, though, is that we don't incessantly open the *Corpus iuris* or other legal collections because it's tiring and it makes us lose the thread of what we are reading. The digital text, therefore, offers the great advantage of hyperlinks, or if needed, chains of hyperlinks, which allow us to read the different levels originally implied by legal medieval texts at the same time. Another advantage of digital platforms, as has been pointed out, is that they offer the possibility of presenting several variants of the text at the same time;³⁷ specifically for medieval legal texts, the additional benefit of opening a window on the mnemonic cultural background of medieval lawyers should be taken into consideration.

³⁶ The passages taken from the modern editions of the *Corpus iuris* should be emended however according to the medieval *Vulgata*, that even if it has not yet been transformed in a digital text, is accessible in jpeg thanks to the reproduction of 16th- and 17th-century editions carried out, among others, by AMS Historica-Alma DL (Biblioteca Digitale Università di Bologna: <http://amshistorica.unibo.it>), available also from the aforementioned website of the 'The Roman Law Library'.

³⁷ For a thorough analysis of the question from different points of view, see Andrews & Macé 2014. In view of the edition of the *Tractatus testimoniorum* of Bartolus de Saxoferrato, Lepsius (2011, p. 315) said that: 'a sophisticated edition in digitized form' would allow 'the modern reader to open new frames to all variant readings and with the glosses of all manuscripts'. The digitized edition would represent, according to Lepsius (p. 324), the modern answer to the kind of edition called for by Stephan Kuttner in 1959.

3. *Dialogue with the Others*

Nobody writes for himself or herself: every work, today as in the past, is addressed to a public and written in dialogue with contemporary or past interlocutors. It's true, though, that medieval legal science – not unlike medieval theology or philosophy – was intended in itself as a collective debate: a doctrinal legal text was conceived as a permanent dialogue of the author with his predecessors and contemporaries, a dialogue which was usually recalled by the author through quotations or long paraphrasis of the works of the others.

If that's a common character shared by all kinds of medieval works – and not only legal, as I said —, the differences between literary genres in the legal context of the High Middle Ages, especially between the production of Bologna and that of the other Law Schools in Italy and in Europe, must be taken into account in order to understand the direction taken by modern editions.

The Bolognese apparatus of the *glossae*, except for specific experiments,³⁸ has always been considered beyond the capabilities of legal philology.³⁹ Even if around the middle of the 13th century the great glossator Accursius gathered the more than ninety thousand *glossae* written on Justinian's texts in Bologna over the course of slightly more than a century in a kind of standard apparatus, the genre itself of the *glossa*, as an open, collective, often nameless and barely formalized expression of legal thinking, escaped completely not just the philological weapons we use today, but the very conception we have of a text.⁴⁰ It is for this reason that we rely almost exclusively on 15th-, 16th- and 17th-century printed editions of the Bolognese *glossae*.⁴¹

³⁸ See Torelli 1934; Caprioli 2015.

³⁹ The reasons are explained in a diachronic perspective by Dolezalek 1985, I, pp. 17–60, especially § 2. ('Bemerkungen zur Einordnung dieses Buches in die Forschungsgeschichte'), pp. 29–42.

⁴⁰ The classification of the literary genre of the *glossa* is a problem left unsolved from Savigny himself, according to Dolezalek: 'Im übrigen ist darauf hinzuweisen, daß Savigny ausdrücklich offengelassen hatte, ob es sich bei den postulierten Glossenwerken um einmalige, endgültige Veröffentlichungen von fertig redigierten Texten mit festem Wortlaut handelte oder aber um "lebende Texte", die jederzeit wieder verändert werden konnten und auch in der Tat verändert wurden, so daß sie in vielen verschiedenen Fassungen umliefen': Dolezalek 1985, I, p. 31.

⁴¹ Old editions of the *Corpus iuris* with the *Glossa* of Accursius are available on the website of the 'The Roman Law Library' (see the previous notes), where

While the *glossa* long remained prevalent in the *Studium* of Bologna, elsewhere things went differently, especially regarding the success, outside Bologna, of *quaestiones*, *summae* and later of *tractatus*. As for authorship, *quaestiones* raise similar problems to the *glossae*. Throughout the 12th century, the *quaestio* was a very widespread literary genre in all the so-called ‘Minor Legal Schools’,⁴² but from the middle of the 13th century onwards it became prevalent in Bologna as well. Manlio Bellomo’s excellent edition of the manuscripts containing the more important collections of civil law *quaestiones* circulating between the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th, shows the difficulties inherent in applying even the semblance of an authorial criterion to this material.⁴³ Such difficulty was already emphasized by Ennio Cortese, who defined Albertus Gandinus’s *Tractatus de Maleficiis* as an open and elastic chain, within which old *quaestiones* could repeatedly be replaced by new ones circulating under different names.⁴⁴ From this point of view, the *quaestio* could be seen as a specific example of ‘shared authorship’: a format that could be continuously re-elaborated by different authors who constantly changed the arguments and solutions of the previous versions.

Summae and *tractatus* seem at first glance to be on a different level. While civil law *summae* are usually described by legal historiography as expositions of a section of the *Corpus iuris* with summarizing intentions, the *tractatus* – a genre that appears around the end of the 13th century – is compared to a monographic exposition of a subject, not far from what we today call a legal treatise. *Summae* and *tractatus*, being more similar to what we consider a text, written by a single author, whose name we usually know, and having *allegedly* a beginning, a middle and an end, attracted the attention of many legal historians, who compiled important edi-

beside precious *incunabula* of the *Codex* and of the *Institutions* of Justinian, is available also a manuscript of the *Digest*.

⁴² For the meaning of ‘Minor’ and the character of these schools, see Cortese 1995, II, pp. 103–95.

⁴³ Bellomo 2008.

⁴⁴ ‘Una collana ... elastica e aperta all’inserimento di questioni nuove e alla sostituzione di questioni vecchie ... che almeno inizialmente avevano circolato sotto nomi diversi’: Cortese 1995, II, p. 296. For a discussion of the position of Cortese, see Quaglioni 1999.

tions of such works in the fields of both civil and canon law. But even if these genres present radical differences from the *glossae*, they share with them the basic idea that medieval legal texts were understood more as products of generations of scholars than as the result of an individual's work. This does not mean that doctrinal legal texts were collective writings, or *équipe* writings, which cannot be attributed to an author; it means rather that, even in texts that apparently meet the criteria of authorial texts, we should not forget that the real aim of the author was to reconstruct the shared debate on specific topics, much more than to give authorial solutions to the problems he was posing.

The dialectical approach to knowledge is obviously not only a prerogative of medieval legal science, but the common feature of an age: in the legal field, and especially in the civil legal field, however, the importance of a dialectical approach was particularly emphasized by the link between doctrinal legal texts and judicial process. One of the fundamental aims of a legal author was to give lists of conflicting arguments and opinions that could potentially be used by advocates in court; the fact that such lists possibly led to opposite solutions was not perceived as a sign of contradiction or of inconsistency. Two examples, the first drawn from the *Summa Trium Librorum* of Rolandus de Luca (Tuscany, end of the 12th century-beginning of the 13th), the second from a *Tractatus* composed by Albericus de Rosate in Lombardy around the middle of the 14th century, help to demonstrate both the idea of a shared debate and the dialectical approach in medieval legal science. Even though both the examples are taken from *summae* or *tractatus* known under the name of single authors, we can immediately realize how far we are from our conception of an authorial text. In the first example, Rolandus de Luca, after having read the *summae* of two other experts in Roman public law, Placentinus and Pillius de Medicina, decided to rewrite his own *summa* (the first version of which he had composed during the last decade of the 12th century) in order to include their works in the first decades of the 13th century. The following example illustrates how he rewrote his entire *Summa*:

<1.> De bonis vacantibus que fisco acquiruntur dictum est; ... de delatoribus prius et eorum pena, et postea de eorum premio dicamus. <2.> Videamus ergo qui talia accusare sive

deferre prohibeantur, ut per consequenciam sciamus qui admittantur. R. <3.> *Et quot modis dicatur deferre et quot modis dicatur quis delator, et que delatio sit approbata et que improbata* p. <4.> *Deferre est auferre, ut s. de carbon. edic. l. ii. (C. 6.17.2). Item deferre est alterum alteri in honore cedere, ut de epis. et cl. l. Presbiteri (C. 1.3.8.1), unde illud cedendum est maioribus. Item deferre est accusare, ut C. ad l. iul. repe. l. Iube-mus (C. 9.27.4). Item deferre est nuntiare.* p.⁴⁵

Even if the sentences in italics are nothing more than long passages of Placentinus extrapolated by Rolandus from Placentinus's unfinished *Summa* and included in his own, it would be wrong to cut them out of a modern edition: it would misrepresent the way the work was originally conceived by the author, sacrificing the medieval vision for our 'authorial' needs. The use of italics – adopted by Conte and myself in the published edition – could be seen as a kind of a compromise, because it aims at distinguishing the text of Rolandus from the passages he copied from other authors, in order to save the collective discussion but also to allow the modern reader to understand the distinction between works of different authors.

Such a choice would be very difficult to put into effect if we were to edit a sample of the *Tractatus* of Albericus such as the following, where the author formulates a *quaestio* and lists afterwards conflicting ideas of many authors supporting one or another position. Writing a learned *Commentary* on the Justinian *Digest* around the middle of the 14th century, Albericus declares that his comment devoted to the *titulus* concerning old Roman taxes (D. 50.4) couldn't be inserted in this general work: the subject and the interpretations of the medieval authors were so widespread that he needed to write a *Summa* on them, which subsequently, however, he will call *Tractatus*.⁴⁶ This *Summa* or *Tractatus* consists of the

⁴⁵ Rolandus de Luca, *Summa* in tit. C. 10.11; the initials 'p.' for Placentinus, and 'R.' for Rolandus – and elsewhere 'py.' for Pillius de Medicina – appear often (but not regularly) only in one of the five manuscripts containing the *Summa* of Rolandus. On their meaning, see Conte ('Il testo e l'autore'), in: Conte & Menzinger 2012, pp. xviii–xix; the passage quoted in the text is edited at p. 53.

⁴⁶ Albericus de Rosate 1585 (anast. reprint 1982), ad D. 50.4.1 (*De muneribus et honoribus*), 233^{rb}: 'Quia ista materia munerum in iure diffusa est ... ideo eam hic per modum cuiusdam summae plene tradere decrevi'. I have signalled the existence of this *Tractatus* in Menzinger 2013, pp. 1–23.

juxtaposition of dozens of *quaestiones* devoted to similar interrogatives, namely, how taxes should be distributed and calculated. It is a learned *Commentary*, which turns temporarily into a *Summa*, later called a *Tractatus* by the author, and consisting actually of *quaestiones disputatae* by dozens of authors whose positions are incessantly recalled by Albericus, as in the following example:

If a citizen of Bologna owns lands in the district of Modena, without being a citizen or inhabitant of the latter, and the city of Modena raises taxes for the war ... should the citizen of Bologna pay taxes for the land he owns in the district of Modena? There are many answers to this question, according to the *doctores iuris* and to the *Glossa* (of Accursius): *dominus Dynus* <de Mugello> affirms clearly that ... and his opinion is shared by Oldradus <de Ponte> ...; *dominus* Oldradus argues that ..., which is the opposite of what Innocent <III> maintains; ... the same argument is outlined in the *Summa Trium Librorum* ...; against the position of Dynus <de Mugello>, Guido de Suçaria affirms that ... etc.⁴⁷

This is incidentally what we call *ius commune*, a law not prescribed by a superior authority but oriented by the converging opinions of lawyers, literally the *communis opinio*, where the objective of the author was mainly reconstructing the dominant legal trend and his position within it.⁴⁸

4. *Dialogue of the Author with Himself*

With the expression ‘dialogue of the author with himself’ I challenge another positivist belief which is in my opinion improper-

⁴⁷ Albericus de Rosate 1585, 235^{rb}: ‘Si Bononiensis habet terras et possessiones in districtu Mutinensi et non sit ibi civis nec incola, et civitas Mutinae propter guerras ... imponet collectam ..., an iste Bononiensis teneatur solvere collectam sibi impositam pro possessionibus quas habet ibidem. In hoc ... multum videntur variare doctores et glossa: Dominus Dynus clare tenet ...; istam opinionem Dyni sequebatur dominus Oldradus <de Ponte> ...; tenebat ipse dominus Oldradus quod ..., cuius contrarium videtur tenere Innocentius <III.> ...; haec etiam opinio videtur innuere in “Summa Trium Librorum” ...; contra opinionem Dyni videtur quod ... dominus Guido de Suza. tenet ...’ etc.

⁴⁸ An aspect that has been pointed out in other words by Dolezalek 1985, p. 29: ‘Für zahlreiche Rechtsprobleme des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, hatten die Glossatoren noch die Möglichkeit, zwischen mehreren in Frage kommenden Lösungen zu wählen’.

erly projected onto the medieval world: the idea that an author devoted himself for a delimited period to the composition of a doctrinal legal work, which he began, developed and concluded over the course of some years. Such perspective relies always on the underlying belief that the medieval text was a closed text, a belief that prevents us from understanding the alterity of intellectual production before the invention of the printing press.

At least in the legal field, the medieval author was not very concerned about the final version of his work: he felt quite free to change repeatedly what he wrote, according to the evolving historical circumstances, to his evolving culture, and to the evolving contents of the local laws (*iura propria*) which were notoriously subject to incessant changes. Regardless of the changes possibly introduced to the text by the copyists, the author himself returned very often to his work in order to improve, modify or correct what he wrote.⁴⁹

Once again, we must take into account the important pages devoted to this problem by Hermann Kantorowicz in his *Einführung in die Textkritik*. Confronted with the changes repeatedly introduced by Albertus Gandinus in the *Tractatus de Maleficiis*, Kantorowicz concluded that the judge composed three different versions of his *Tractatus*. Unlike the four other versions of the *Tractatus* that circulated – according to Kantorowicz – after the death of Gandinus, the versions compiled in 1286, 1299, and 1301 were by the judge himself. Comparing these results with the course followed by other civil legal texts of the Middle Ages, Kantorowicz theorised the ‘plurality of originals’ as a recurring factor among them.⁵⁰ Most editions of medieval works published

⁴⁹ As it is shown by many papers collected in the book edited by Hamesse 1992, and devoted to the edition of philosophical and scientific medieval texts, this attitude was not confined to the legal texts but was common to many authors of the same period; the paper of Beit-Arié, in particular, shows that it was an attitude documented also outside the Latin tradition.

⁵⁰ Kantorowicz 1921, as presented in Atzeri & Mari 2007, pp. 10–13, and see the framing of this issue in the preface to the Italian edition by Atzeri & Mari, pp. xvi–xvii. As early as 1959, Stephan Kuttner already gave instructions (p. 453) on how to deal with multiple versions in modern editions. In more recent times, the problem of the ‘plurality of originals’ has been discussed in Crescenzi 2003, pp. 271–78, and in Mari 2005, pp. 137–45. For the *varianti d'autore* in the works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato, see Quaglioni 1984 and Lepsius 2011. For the most thorough analysis of multiple versions in the medieval context, even if not referred

since then in the legal (but also non-legal) field confirmed the frequency of multiple original versions and the importance given by Kantorowicz to this subject.⁵¹ The studies especially of Giovanni Orlandi extensively witness that the composition of different versions by the author was not limited to the legal texts in the Middle Ages, but very common among theological and philosophical writings.⁵² It was common, according to Orlandi, also in Antiquity, but the loss of codices and manuscripts obscured to some extent the problem.

The plurality of original texts is often rendered by the modern editor through the reference to a 'double' version written by the medieval author: a first almost invariably *brevior*, and a second *longior* that the medieval author would have composed later. The so-called 'second version' does not usually amount to the composition of an entirely new text, nor to a massive re-elaboration of the first; it consists rather of an enlargement of the previous work, which is in general entirely included by the medieval author in the new one. To get rid of the old is an unknown process to the medieval mentality, which seems to ignore the possibility of dismantling the tradition. Legal thinking certainly does not represent an exception: in the creation of the new, the old plays a vital validating role, even if sometimes in contradiction with more recent propositions.⁵³

to legal texts but to theological and philosophical production, see Orlandi 2008, pp. 27–61.

⁵¹ The theory of Kantorowicz has been challenged by Elio Montanari, who thinks instead that Kantorowicz would have generalized a peculiarity of the *Tractatus* of Gandinus ('Kantorowicz ha ... pagato un tributo, formalmente eccessivo, alla genesi storica della sua sistemazione teoretica, scaturita dall'analisi del *Tractatus de maleficiis* di Gandino'): Montanari 2009/2010, p. 198.

⁵² Orlandi 2008. See especially what Orlandi says (pp. 33–34, 42–43) about the *Dialogus inter Philosophum, Iudaeum et Christianum* (or *Collationes*) of Peter Abelard, the *Aurora* of Pietro Riga (pp. 44–45), the *Periphyseon* of John Scotus Eriugena (pp. 45–46), and the *Apologia* addressed to William of St Thierry by Bernard of Clairvaux (pp. 53–55): the conservation of autograph manuscripts, in all these cases, confirms that the authors wrote multiple versions of their texts. On multiple versions within autograph manuscripts, see also Ouy 1992; on the custom of rewriting philosophical texts, see Hamesse & Weijers 2006, with special reference to the paper of Hamesse.

⁵³ For a specific manifestation of this attitude in medieval legal field, see the fundamental pages devoted by Ennio Cortese to the logic that oriented the legal *codices* of the Late Antique: Cortese 1995, I, chap. I.

Even if in some cases we are able to detect a defined number of versions in the manuscript tradition – two, or (less frequently) more, as in the case of the *Tractatus de maleficiis*, according to Kantorowicz –, what we constantly notice, however, is that between the 12th and the 14th century we are very rarely confronted with just one version of a legal doctrinal work. The boundary between the composition of a text and its diffusion is repeatedly crossed by many authors, and the frequency of ‘double’ versions seems to testify more to the way the modern editor reads the open relationship of the medieval author with his text, than the real desire of medieval authors to constantly write two different versions of their work, one invariably smaller and a second enlarged. In other words, we should ask ourselves whether the necessity of identifying an exact number of versions should not be replaced by the peaceful acknowledgement of the uninterrupted work of the medieval lawyer on his text.

A passage of the *Summa Trium Librorum* of Rolandus de Luca helps to understand why an author could feel the need to modify his work. Rolandus also wrote more than one version of his treatise: on the basis of the analysis of the manuscript tradition – which in this case consists of five manuscripts – we can presume that the author, after completing a first version of his *Summa* before the end of the 12th century,⁵⁴ introduced considerable changes in his work in the first decades of the 13th. The additions were the result of two factors: first that Rolandus read the *summae* of other authors on the Justinian public law, something that he probably hadn’t done before; second, that the Italian city governments reshaped their fiscal policy so radically during his life that the first version of the *Summa* seemed out of date to Rolandus in the first decades of the 13th century. What is certain is that in this period he wrote many additions to what we call the first version of his work, as proves the reference to canonical decretals issued by popes during the first three decades of the 13th century.

⁵⁴ We are able to date this version since in the *proemium* Rolandus says that his work is devoted to the living Emperor Henry the 6th, who died in 1197.

For example, in his comment on the title of the Justinian Codex devoted to property taxes,⁵⁵ the first two paragraphs (§ § 46–47) belong to the older layer of the text and show Rolandus' interest in claiming the rights of the city to collect taxes from the countryside around it, a typical claim of Italian city-governments during the 12th century. In the later additions (§ § 48–49), he discusses instead three aspects of the property taxes which became essential especially from the second decade of the 13th century onwards: that exemptions should not be admitted; that the property taxes should be proportional to the wealth of the taxpayers; that property taxes were directed to finance public works such as walls, roads, bridges and so on. The great battle undertaken by the Italian city-governments against the fiscal privileges of the Church – strongly safeguarded by Innocent the III during his papacy (1198–1216) – clearly led the author to add a new section to his work, something he perceived as perfectly natural. As in many other medieval legal texts, the changes introduced by Rolandus are additions: nothing of the earlier work is thrown away or reformulated, but it remains identical beside the new, added passages.

The additions are missing in the two older manuscripts of the *Summa Trium Librorum*, and present instead in the other three. In our edition, the only possibility we give to the reader to understand what was written before 1197 and what was added afterwards, is to pay attention, in the critical edition, to those passages we signal as omitted in the two older manuscripts. This is not a great solution, since the stratification of the text is actually not so clear at first sight, but we hadn't many other graphical possibilities: having already chosen the italics for the numerous passages

⁵⁵ Rolandus de Luca, *Summa* in tit. C. 10.42 (*De muneribus patrimoniorum*), edited in Conte & Menzinger 2012, p. 150: '<46.> Sed et viarum munitiones et prediorum collationes non persone sed locorum munera sunt, ut ff. e. l. Honor § Viarum (D. 50.4.14.2). <47.> Nam quedam civitates habent prerogativam, ut qui in territorio earum possident, certum quid frumenti pro mensura agri per singulos annos prebeant, quod genus collationis munus possessionis est, ut ff. e. l. ult. (D. 50.4.18.25). <48.> Sunt patrimonialia munera ut collecte impositio pro mittendis militibus ad exercitum, pontium, viarum, portuum, aqueductum, murorum civitatis refectio et reparatio, et collatio ad hoc facienda, ut ff. de mu. et ho. l. ult. § Patrimoniorum (D. 50.4.18.18). <49.> Et circa predicta patrimonialia munera ita dico: quod omnibus imponuntur habitantibus per ordinem, et quod nullus relevetur, sed omnibus originaris, incolis et civibus fiat collecta huiusmodi munerum, pro rebus quas ibi habent, ut i.e. l. ult. (C. 10.42.10)'.

taken by Rolandus from the works of other authors, it would have been confusing to select a third character. Once again, the digital text would be a more appropriate support, for the possibility of visualizing on command either only the old version, or only the additions, or both in different colours, and so on. In other words, to visualize the repeated interventions by the author on a text that is very far from the standards of a text today.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Albericus de Rosate (1585; anast. reprint 1982), *Commentarii in secundam Digesti Novi partem*, Venetiis [rist. anast. Bologna], 233^{rb}–247^{va}.
- M. Bellomo (2008), *Quaestiones in iure civili disputatae. Didattica e prassi colta nel sistema del diritto comune fra Duecento e Trecento*, Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo.
- A. Belloni (1989), *Le questioni civilistiche del secolo XII. Da Bulgaro a Pillio da Medicina e Azzone*, Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann.
- E. Conte & S. Menzinger (2012), *La Summa Trium Librorum di Rolando da Lucca (1195–1234). Fisco, politica, scientia iuris*, Roma: Istituto Storico Germanico di Roma & Viella Editore.
- H. Kantorowicz (1926), *Albertus Gandinus und das Strafrecht der Scholastik*, II, *Die Theorie. Kritische Ausgabe des Tractatus de Maleficiis nebst textkritischer Einleitung*, Berlin, Leipzig: De Gruyter.
- Y. Lassard & A. Koptev, 'The Roman Law Library' (URL: <http://droitromain.upmf-grenoble.fr>).
- T. Wallinga (ed., 2005), *The Casus Codicis of Wilhelmus de Cabriano*, Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann.

Secondary Literature

- T. Andrews & C. Macé (eds, 2014), *Analysis of Ancient and Medieval Texts and Manuscripts: Digital Approaches*, Turnhout: Brepols.
- G. Astuti (1968), 'La glossa accursiana', in G. Rossi (ed.), *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi accursiani (Bologna, 21–26 ottobre 1963)*, Milano: Giuffrè, pp. 287–379.
- L. Atzeri & P. Mari (2007), *Introduzione alla critica del testo. Esposizione sistematica dei principi della critica del testo per filologi e*

- giuristi*, Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, Italian translation of H. Kantorowicz (1921), *Einführung in die Textkritik. Systematische Darstellung der textkritischen Grundsätze für Philologen und Juristen*, Leipzig: Dietrich.
- M. Beit-Arié (1992), 'Transmission des textes par scribes et copistes. Interférences inconscientes et critiques', in J. Hamesse (ed.), *Les problèmes posés par l'édition critique des textes anciens et médiévaux*, Louvain-La-Neuve: Institut d'études médiévales, pp. 173–98.
- M. Bellomo (1997), 'Il testo per interpretare il testo', in *Medioevo edito e inedito*, II, *Scienza del diritto e società medievale*, Roma: Il Cigno Galileo Galilei.
- S. Caprioli (2015), Satura Lanx. *Studi di Storia del Diritto Italiano*, Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo.
- E. Conte (2009), *Diritto comune. Storia e storiografia di un sistema dinamico*, Bologna: Il Mulino.
- E. Cortese (1995), *Il diritto nella storia medievale*, 2 vols, Roma: Il Cigno Galileo Galilei.
- V. Crescenzi (2003), 'Authentica atque originalia. Problemi critici per l'edizione dei testi normativi', in *Initium. Revista catalana d'Història del Dret*, 8, pp. 271–353.
- G. Dolezalek (1985), *Repertorium manuscriptorum veterum Codicis Iustiniani*, unter Mitarbeit von L. Mayali, 2 vols, Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann.
- H. Dondorp & E. J. H. Schrage (2010), 'The Sources of Medieval Learned Law', in J. W. Cairns & P. J. Du Plessis (eds), *The Creation of Ius Commune: from Casus to Regula*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 7–56.
- J. Hamesse (ed., 1992), *Les problèmes posés par l'édition critique des textes anciens et médiévaux*, Louvain-La-Neuve: Institut d'études médiévales.
- J. Hamesse (2006), 'Un exemple de réécriture des textes: les instruments de travail philosophiques médiévaux', in J. Hamesse & O. Weijers (eds), *Écriture et réécriture des textes philosophiques médiévaux. Volume d'hommage offert à Colette Sirat*, Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 195–214.
- J. Hamesse & O. Weijers (eds, 2006), *Écriture et réécriture des textes philosophiques médiévaux. Volume d'hommage offert à Colette Sirat*, Turnhout: Brepols.
- H. Kantorowicz (1921), *Einführung in die Textkritik. Systematische Darstellung der textkritischen Grundsätze für Philologen und Juristen*, Leipzig: Dietrich, transl. in Italian by L. Atzeri & P. Mari

- (2007), *Introduzione alla critica del testo. Esposizione sistematica dei principi della critica del testo per filologi e giuristi*, Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo.
- H. Kantorowicz (1935), 'Die Allegationen im späteren Mittelalter', in *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 13, pp. 15–29.
- H. Kantorowicz (1938), *Studies in the Glossators of the Roman Law. Newly discovered writings of the twelfth century*, edited and explained by H. Kantorowicz with the collaboration of W. W. Buckland, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- S. Kuttner (1955), 'Notes on the Roman Meeting, on Planning and Method', in *Traditio*, 11, pp. 431–39.
- S. Kuttner (1959), 'Notes on the Presentation of Text and Apparatus in Editing Works of the Decretists and Decretalists', in *Traditio*, 15, pp. 452–64.
- S. Lepsius (2011), 'Editing Legal Texts from the Late Middle Ages', in W. Robbins (ed.), *Textual Cultures of Medieval Italy*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 295–324.
- P. Mari (2005), *L'armario del filologo*, Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo
- S. Menzinger (2013), 'Diritti di cittadinanza nelle quaestiones giuridiche ducentesche e inizio-trecentesche', in C. Lenoble & G. Todeschini (eds), *Cittadinanza e disuguaglianze economiche: le origini storiche di un problema europeo (XIII–XVI secolo)*, in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, 125, pp. 1–23.
- E. Montanari (2009–2010), 'Kantorowicz e Maas', in *Incontri triestini di filologia classica*, 9, pp. 189–243.
- G. Orlandi (2008), 'Pluralità di redazioni e testo critico', in P. Chiesa & al. (eds), *Giovanni Orlandi, Scritti di Filologia Mediolatina*, Firenze: Edizioni del Galluzzo, pp. 27–61.
- G. Ouy (1992), 'Problèmes d'édition des manuscrits autographes médiévaux', in J. Hamesse (ed.), *Les problèmes posés par l'édition critique des textes anciens et médiévaux*, Louvain-La-Neuve: Institut d'études médiévales, pp. 399–419.
- G. Pasquali (1952, first ed. 1934), *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Firenze: Le Monnier.
- D. Quaglioni (1984), 'Il proemio del bartoliano *Tractatus represaliorum*', in *Pluteus*, 2, pp. 85–92.
- D. Quaglioni (1999), 'Gandino, Alberto', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 52, pp. 147–52.

- D. Quagliani (2004), 'La Vergine e il diavolo. Letteratura e diritto, letteratura come diritto', in *Laboratoire Italien. Politique et société*, 5, pp. 39–55.
- D. Quagliani (forthcoming), 'Licet allegare poetas. Formanti letterari del diritto fra Medioevo ed Età Moderna', in *Kongressakte des Symposium Dichtung und Recht im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 26–29 October 2016).
- C. M. Radding & A. Ciaralli (2007), *The Corpus Iuris Civilis in the Middle Ages. Manuscripts and Transmission from the Sixth Century to the Juristic Revival*, Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- F. C. von Savigny (1815–1831), *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer.
- M. Sbriccoli (1998), 'Vidi communiter observari. L'emersione di un ordine penale pubblico nelle città italiane del secolo XIII', in *Quaterni fiorentini*, 27, pp. 231–68.
- F. Soetermeer (1997), *Utrumque ius in peciis. Aspetti della produzione libraria a Bologna fra Due e Trecento*, Milano: Giuffrè.
- J. Steinberg (2013), *Dante and the Limits of the Law*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- P. Torelli (1934), 'Per l'edizione critica della Glossa accursiana alle Istituzioni', in *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*, 7, pp. 429–584.
- A. Vàrvaro (1970), 'Critica dei testi classica e romanza. Problemi comuni ed esperienze diverse', in *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli*, 45, pp. 73–117.
- A. Winroth (2000), *The Making of Gratian's Decretum*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Abstract

The relationship of the medieval lawyers with their doctrinal texts was very different from today: focusing on the meaning of the past, of collective science, and of multiple versions in the composition of medieval legal commentaries, I'll try to point out some of the thorniest issues posed by the editing of medieval legal texts, using a diachronic perspective.

JAMES H. BRUSUELAS
University of Kentucky

THE AUTHORITY OF BEING USEFUL: SERVIUS ON AND OFF THE PAGE *

1. *Much Ado About Servius*

In Linderski's *Latomus* review of G. Ramires' *Servio. Commento al libro VII dell' Eneide di Virgilio* the Harvard Servius project was described as not just being moored, but ultimately a sunken ship.¹ To a certain extent Linderski was right to apply the nautical metaphor. Although the Harvard project was a grand attempt to surpass the previous edition of Thilo & Hagen (1881–1887; repr. 1961), only two volumes were ever published: vol. 2 in 1946 (*Aeneid* 1–2) and vol. 3 in 1965 (*Aeneid* 3–5). For decades, no further edition of Servius' comments was published by the project, which was then in partnership with the American Philological Association (the now re-branded Society for Classical Studies (SCS)). Be that as it may, the ship was not sunk. Rather, it has just been in dry dock, and is now being outfitted with a new crew and even some technological upgrades. In 2015, Professor Robert Kaster collected the remaining work of Charles Murgia and finished the long awaited vol. 5 (*Aeneid* 9–12). This volume has been recently published by Oxford University Press. So, *immittamus habenas*.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, I will remind the reader of the fundamental problem in editing Servius, while

* I would like to thank the editors and anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments. To Professors Cynthia Damon and Robert Kaster, without whose guidance this chapter could not have been written, I owe many thanks.

¹ Linderski 2008, pp. 184–85.

presenting a brief progress report on the on-going endeavour to produce an edition of all Servius' comments on Vergil. Second, Servius' future will also be digital. Thus I will discuss some initial design concepts and issues that arose when we began experimenting with a very crude digital Servius.

Now, one might start with a blunt question. What went wrong? Two volumes appeared and then silence. Yet such a question might not be entirely fair. Scholarship on Servius, especially by those associated with the Harvard project, by no means ceased. But, for producing a sound and useable edition, the lingering problem was a question regarding the text of Servius itself. What is Servius? This may sound more existential than philological, but the transmission of Servius' commentary suffers from a particular problem.

Servius was a teacher in Rome by 390 who approached his commentary differently from those of his predecessors.² The great *uariorum* of Donatus, his commentary, was a collection culled from earlier works and preserved verbatim the words and names of the *doctissimi*. Servius, however, had a distinct purpose in mind: applied teaching. Exegesis with a focus on good Latin usage – imperial not classical – was of the utmost import, even if that meant rewriting, removing scholarly debates, and not preserving every name associated with them, such as Asper, Probus, and Hyginus.³ Servius thus adapted and rewrote. And the act of rewriting brings us to the fundamental problem of Servius' transmission. First, although we have manuscripts that preserve so-called pure Servius (hereafter S in reference to manuscripts), we also have a manuscript tradition preserving so-called Servius Auctus (hereafter DS in reference to manuscripts), manuscripts that combine S with other learned material – very likely including Aelius Donatus' own commentary – with very substantial content; this combining of commentaries is understood to be the work of a Medieval Christian compiler working in Ireland or England around the seventh century.⁴ More importantly, we must also be mindful of how S and DS were copied and transmitted. Both

² On Servius, see Kaster 1988, pp. 169–97; see also Marshall 1997.

³ Zetzel 1975, p. 338; Maltby 2000, p. 266.

⁴ Goold 1970, pp. 101–68.

traditions were preserved as running commentaries attributed to Servius and as marginal comments in manuscripts of Vergil, i.e. as scholia, though DS was preserved far more as scholia than S, with evidence of not only rewriting but also inclusion of other, non-S and non-DS, material in some cases.⁵ As scholia, this presents a further issue. The transformation and adaptation of marginal comments over time was not only accepted but also the norm.⁶ As Comparetti noted so long ago, 'No master ever scrupled to condense or modify or gloss them [scholia] in any way he might think best'.⁷ Accordingly, this might make us question whether or not S itself includes comments that are not in their original form. That Servius, in the transmission of S, stood side by side with non-Servian comments in the margins of a manuscript of Vergil remains a likely scenario. Furthermore, that scholia freely flowed back and forth from independent commentaries to the margins of manuscripts of Vergil is also considered to be the reality of their overall transmission. Nevertheless, the notion of a 'pure' S still relies on the supposition that it reached the ninth century as an independent, running commentary, i.e. before it was disembodied as scholia.⁸ The indirect evidence for S only informs us that the commentary was indeed used and was not what we find in DS: Priscian, as a close witness of the sixth century, quotes Servius as we find him in S; the commentary was extensively used by Isidore in the *Etymologiae* in the seventh; and even Alcuin mentions a copy of Servius in the library at York in the eighth century.⁹ Is Servius in fact indicative of pure S? Was DS the singularity, the sole entity displaying rewriting in addition to the obvious stitching of S together with another more detailed commentary?

Regardless of how one attempts to answer those questions, these two strains were preserved and copied as somewhat stable entities. Moreover, from Priscian, to Alcuin, and beyond, even with rewriting, it was all attributed to Servius. And so Servius'

⁵ Murgia 1975.

⁶ Daintree 1990, pp. 65–79.

⁷ Comparetti 1885/1997, p. 55.

⁸ As Kaster notes in his comments on an earlier draft of this paper, 'we can't really get closer to the "pure" Servius than the Δ -source of the S tradition'; see Murgia 1975.

⁹ Marshall 1983, p. 385.

grammatical authority seems not necessarily one of *ipsissima uerba*. Instead, his textual authority might have been defined by usability or adaptability.¹⁰ Second, it is generally thought that the compiler was using the so-called D commentary, the now lost commentary on Vergil by Aelius Donatus (the D in DS typically refers to either Pierre Daniel, who first published the Servius Auctus tradition as Servius in 1600, or Donatus). Charles Murgia was even very specific in this context, stating that he believed that Servius Auctus contained material from D verbatim.¹¹ The loss of most of D, however, has caused some to be more cautious. All that survives directly of the D commentary are the dedicatory epistle, a *uita* of Vergil, and the introduction to the *Bucolics*. But even if we could isolate systematically what might be D in DS, that text would not simply equal Donatus; Donatus' commentary itself may have undergone abridgment by the time it reached the compiler.¹² Exactly whom are we editing here? Servius, the compiler ... Donatus?

As Charles Murgia once observed, 'Both Servius and the D commentary are not only important evidence for ancient interpretation of Vergil, but main source materials for the text of quoted ancient authors, many now lost, and for many aspects of ancient culture, including language, grammar, myth, history, pagan religion, and Roman law. Servius and Servius Auctus deserve texts which are not only accurate but allow the correct attribution for the source of their evidence'.¹³ And according to Peter Marshall, 'The editor of Servius has an unenviable task. First he must separate out the three different components, namely [S], [D], and the "stitching" of the compiler of [DS]'.¹⁴ A tangled, schizophrenic mess indeed. Yet we have known this all along. Servius is Servius. Servius is Servian. Servius is scholia. Servius is even perhaps sylloge. As a textual critic, where one falls, or in which direction one leans, on this alliterative scale may vary. The essential problem of

¹⁰ Haslam 1994, pp. 1–45.

¹¹ Murgia 2003, p. 192.

¹² For an overview of scholarly positions, see Maltby 2005, pp. 207–20 and Daintree 1990, pp. 65–79.

¹³ See the online publication of Murgia 2004, p. 8; <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/89p134jb>.

¹⁴ Marshall 1983, p. 386.

coming to terms with this entanglement, in publishing readable and useable editions, has resulted in a problem regarding how a critical edition conveys such a complicated textual life. What should this look like?

Over the course of the 20th and early 21st centuries Charles Murgia was a dominant voice on all things Servius, regarding not just his assessment of the published Harvard editions, but also the work that subsequently appeared by G. Ramires, who published editions of the commentaries on *Aen.* 7 and 9.¹⁵ It should not be surprising that, without the appearance of any new ‘Harvard’ editions, someone else made an attempt. But Ramires and Murgia have two different approaches to constructing both the stemma of S and the presentation of the edited text on the printed page; Ramires essentially follows Thilo & Hagen in respect to the latter for his work on *Aen.* 9, and then applies other conventions for *Aen.* 7, which creates a very difficult reading experience. For the sake of time and scope of this chapter, I shall not go into detail regarding their differences, as that will be done later and appropriately elsewhere.¹⁶ And it should be noted that Murgia’s authority here is not simply a case of *ipse dixit* or blind trust in his exceptional Latin. Rather his intimate knowledge of the subject came from a lifetime devoted to inspecting Servian manuscripts. His *Prolegomena to Servius 5* remains a foundational reference tool for the manuscripts of S and DS.¹⁷ At any rate, the Harvard Servius was supposed to supersede the late 19th century edition of Thilo & Hagen, whose text format was S in Roman type and words found only in DS in italics.¹⁸ Such a unified text format, as Fraenkel and Murgia pointed out, can be confusing as a reading text. Moreover, Murgia noted that Thilo’s format often resulted in the printing of errors in the text and the concealing of significant changes by the compiler in DS. This was demonstrated by Murgia’s critique of Thilo’s text on *Aen.* 12.120; *limus autem est uestis, qua ab umbilico usque ad pedes prope teguntur pudenda poparum*. Not only is *prope* indeed a scribal error for *popae*, as Murgia argued, but *tegebantur*

¹⁵ Ramires 2003 and 1996.

¹⁶ For brief account of Murgia on Ramires, see Murgia 2004, pp. 1–8.

¹⁷ Murgia 1975.

¹⁸ See Murgia & Kaster 2018, pp. xx–xxviii.

is hiding in the critical apparatus. The change to the imperfect is significant, because “The Christian who (probably in the seventh century) created Servius Auctus knew that in his day popes did not wear the limus”.¹⁹ An error is an error, but if one wanted to appreciate meaningful changes introduced by the compiler it was impossible, because *his* text has been dismembered.

Here is an example of Thilo & Hagen’s presentation of *Aen.* 3.2 as a unified text.

2. GENTEM INMERITAM bene ‘gentem’: nam Laomedontis et
Paridis culpa uniuersa gens perire non debuit. VISUM SUPERIS
ut ipse ait, Neptunum Iunonem Mineruam uidisse se euersores Troiae.
laus Ilii est, quod non nisi dii potuere subuertere. quotienscumque
autem ratio *uel iudicium* non apparet, ‘sic uisum’ interponitur, ut
Horatius sic uisum Veneri, cum amorem ostenderet non esse
pulchritudinis. et bene accusatio in deos habet quondam ueneratio-
nem; alioquin sacrilegium est.

The layout of the Harvard Servius, however, was based on separating S and DS:

1. When there was no important difference between S and DS, the text occupies the full width of the page.
2. When S and DS have different wording, the texts are presented in parallel columns.
3. When there is text in DS but nothing parallel in S, the text occupies the left $\frac{3}{4}$ of the page.
4. When there is text in S but nothing parallel in DS, the text occupies the right $\frac{3}{4}$ of the page.
5. Besides the testimonia, two critical apparatus (for DS and S respectively) are employed.
6. N.B. In the Murgia & Kaster volume, Murgia has now collapsed the two critical apparatuses into one lower apparatus. Furthermore, whereas a line is used to split DS and S down the middle in case 2 in previous volumes, Murgia has also now employed a second line to enclose every instance of DS material, i.e. a line down both the left and right margin of DS text.

¹⁹ See Murgia & Kaster 2018f, pp. xxi and xxiv.

The testimonia, the upper apparatus, is also now used only to report material with a DS origin that appears in the superscript and marginal annotations of two MSS (T and v).

Here is the Harvard Servius' presentation of the same text as Thilo & Hagen above. Italics here represent quoted verse, either referring back to the lemma or another author. In the case of split text, DS is on the left and S is on the right.

GENTEM INMERITAM bene *gentem*; nam Laomedontis et paridis culpa universa gens perire non debuit.

2. VISUM quotienscumque autem ratio uel iudicium non apparet, 'sic uisum' interponitur. SUPERIS ut ipse ait, Neptunum Iunonem Mineruam uidisse se euersores Troiae. laus Ilii est, quod non nisi dii potuere subuerrere

VISUM SUPERIS laus Ilii. Quod non nisi dii potuere subuerrere. quotienscumque autem ratio non apparet, 'sic uisum' interponitur,

ut Horatius *sic uisum Veneri*, cum amorem ostenderet non esse pulchritudinis. et bene accusatio in deos habet quondam uenerationem; alioquin sacrilegium est.

As one can see, the layouts of Thilo & Hagen and Harvard are vastly different. Nevertheless, the logic of the Harvard model is clear. We have a much better view of S and DS is far better represented and understood than what you see in Thilo & Hagen. But for Harvard vol. 2 Murgia was still critical of E. K. Rand for favouring DS over S – one should also read Fraenkel's review, essentially depicting it as the work of palaeographers rather than textual critics.²⁰ Rand put DS (the later source) on the left and S (the earlier source) on the right, thus creating a backwards chronology as one reads. Although Murgia favoured the ability to read and appreciate DS in its own right, he also observed that, in the case where DS and S shared the width of the page, there were still many instances in which errors and inferior readings introduced by the compiler (those lacking any major significance like *tegeban-tur* noted above) were placed in the text while the better or correct

²⁰ Fraenkel 1948, pp. 131–43.

reading from S was found in the critical apparatus.²¹ Vol. 3 fared somewhat better. The editors attempted to fix this antecedent by giving ‘equal weight to the testimony of the MSS of both Servius and Servius Auctus by splitting the page for even minor stylistic divergences’.²² Put simply, the goal has been to separate S and DS wherever possible. In doing so, not only do we isolate what are purportedly pure Servius and the compiler’s work, but also, in providing a clearer picture of DS, we perhaps better preserve material that might derive from the D commentary.

The problem of novelty, creating an entirely new model for editing and presenting the text is one thing, editing both to preserve S and DS while simultaneously gazing at the shadow of the D commentary is another. As the quote of Peter Marshall above lays bare, there was perhaps this (impossible) concept of achieving a perfect trinity where one could correctly see Servius, the mediaeval compiler, and Donatus, along with, of course, clear critical apparatuses and a comprehensive testimonia. The bar was set very high and the task can thus be intimidating.²³ Nevertheless, George Goold was to complete vol. 1, with *Bucolics* and *Georgics*. Murgia was to push ahead with vol. 5, containing the comments to *Aen.* 9–12. And Peter Marshall began work on vol. 4, containing the comments to *Aen.* 6–8. But even after decades of knowing the issues and problems of the original Harvard editions, nothing ever emerged. Sadly both Goold and Marshall passed away in 2001, and then Murgia in 2013.

After such a long delay there is now momentum. Marshall’s papers were eventually handed off to James Butrica at the University of Newfoundland and Christian Kopff at the University of Colorado at Boulder. After Butrica’s untimely death, he was succeeded by Dirk Obbink at the University of Oxford.²⁴ Marshall’s typescript edition of the comments to *Aen.* 6 then landed on my

²¹ Murgia & Kaster 2018, pp. xxi–xxii.

²² Murgia & Kaster 2018, p. xxiii.

²³ In the context of the testimonia, Fraenkel hammered the Harvard editors for not citing Keil’s *Grammatici Latini* in the testimonia when similar discussions on grammatical topics were evident; Fraenkel 1949, pp. 145–54.

²⁴ As of the publication of this volume, Kopff and Obbink are no longer involved in this project.

desk. Unfortunately, this typescript lacked an introduction, testimonia, critical apparatuses, and required digitisation and further revision. Editing Servius is not a task I ever envisioned taking up. Be that as it may, I have now begun completing Marshall's work. But before we look at that in a little more detail, the even better news is, as noted, Professor Robert Kaster's successful effort in rounding up Murgia's remaining work on vol. 5. After such a long delay, the publication effort of this very old project has now resumed.

With the brief description above and the texts provided, one should be able to recognize the general problem at hand. However, the best way to illustrate the issues in presenting S and DS is to pair two contrasting positions on a select section of text. For Servius on *Aen.* 6 we can indeed do this. In 2012 the edition of Servius' commentary to *Aen.* 6 by Jeunet-Mancy was published.²⁵ At the very beginning, the comment to *Aen.* 6.1, Marshall and Jeunet-Mancy set the text differently. We should also note here that despite Murgia's distaste for DS on the left and S on the right, he conceded that changing the format would make the Harvard editions of vols 2 and 3 confusing due to inconsistency. For vol. 5 he thus pressed on accordingly. Marshall followed suit. Jeunet-Mancy, on the other hand, has changed the layout, e.g. S on the left and DS on the right

Text of Peter Marshall:

1. CLASSIQUE nauibus suis, aut suae nauī, quae classis dicitur, uel quod fiat de fustibus. calas enim dicebant maiores nostri fustes, quos portabant serui sequentes dominos ad proelium, unde etiam calones dicebantur. nam consuetudo erat militis Romani, ut ipse sibi arma portaret, ipse uallum: uallum autem dicebant calam, sicut Lucilius *scinde calam, ut caleas*, id est, o puer, frange fustes et fac focum. inde ergo classem dictam dicunt. alii classem hinc magis dictam uolunt: apud maiores nostros stipendium proelio terrestri miles pedester dabat, equites uero dabant in nauali certamine; nam adhuc pauper fuerat populus. exinde iam quod ab equitibus dabatur stipendium, tractum est ut diceretur classis: proprie enim classes equitum dicimus.

²⁵ Jeunet-Mancy 2012.

CLASSIQUE IMMITTIT HABENAS aut suae
nauī sicut Horatius *me uel extremos*
Numidarum in agros classe releget
cum de una loqueretur nauī:

CLASSIQUE aut suae nauī quae classis,
ut in primo (39) diximus, dicta est ἀπὸ
τῶν κάλων, id est, a lignis, unde
Horatius *me uel extremos Numidarum*
in agros classe releget:

aut omnium quae eius cursum sequuntur; Palinuri enim implet officium,
de quo supra ait *ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi*.

IMMITTIT HABENAS aut funes per metaphoram dixit, aut Homerum
secutus est, qui ait uela erigi εὐστρέπτοισι βοεῦσιν, id est loris tortis: his
enim utebantur antiqui.

Text of Jeunet-Mancy:

1. CLASSIQUE

CLASSIQUE: nauibus suis, aut suae nauī, quae
classis dicitur, uel quod fiat de fustibus. Calas
enim dicebant maiores nostri fustes, quos
portabant serui sequentes dominos ad proelium,
unde etiam calones dicebantur. Nam consuetudo
erat militis Romani, ut ipse sibi arma portaret,
ipse uallum: uallum autem dicebant calam, sicut
Lucilius: *Scinde calam, ut caleas!*, id est: o
puer, frange fustes et fac focum! Inde ergo
classem dictam dicunt. Alii classem hinc magis
dictam uolunt: apud maiores nostros stipendium
proelio terrestri miles pedester dabat, equites
uero dabant in nauali certamine; nam adhuc
pauper fuerat populus. exinde iam quod ab
equitibus dabatur stipendium, tractum est ut
diceretur classis: proprie enim classes equitum
dicimus.²⁶

Aut suae nauī quae classis, ut in primo diximus, dicta est ἀπὸ τῶν
κάλων, id est, a lignis, unde Horatius: *me uel extremos Numidarum*
in agros classe releget,

cum de una loqueretur nauī;

²⁶ The lines of text presented here are a bit longer and thus do not correspond exactly to the line structure formatted to fit the page of Jeunet-Mancy's Belles Lettres edition. But that edition doesn't use line numbering, so the change here is a moot point.

aut omnium quae eius cursum sequuntur. Palinuri enim implet officium, de quo supra ait ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi.²⁷

IMMITTIT HABENAS: aut funes per metaphoram dixit, aut Homerum secutus est, qui ait uela erigi ἐνστρέπτοισι βοεῦσιν, id est loris tortis; his enim utebantur antiqui.

Looking at the comments with CLASSIQUE in the lemma as a whole, we have a combination of typical usage-focused elucidation and in depth exegesis. In a teaching context, Kaster has dutifully advised to always keep in mind that Servius' comments are indicative of Latin as a living language.²⁸ Promoting proper or 'proprie' usage thus requires discussion of common instances where poets do quite the opposite. In this case, Vergil's use of *classis* at *Aen.* 6.1 is not only recognised as a proxy for *navis*, but also that *classis* is a collective noun with singular and plural implications. Although Servius was familiar with poetic figures such as *metonymia*, a precise figure is not named and the transferred use is explained via the common tactic of etymology – albeit a false one – and an attempt at polysemy. The first DS comment (occupying $\frac{3}{4}$ of the page in Marshall but half of the page in Jeunet-Mancy) typically provides more content (e.g. the commentary used to add material to S). A lengthy military historical context is the backdrop for an etymology that links *classis* to *fustis* and *cala*, i.e. wooden instruments of war, and then more abstractly to a *stipendium* paid by the *equites* to subsidise the fleet.²⁹ The comment, for the sake of proper usage, then ends in a prescriptive *proprie* ... *dicimus* statement. S, on the other hand, is more laconic in its etymological link back to the Greek word τὸ κᾶλον, i.e. *lignum*, which is then backed up by an authoritative quote of Horace to make the transference permissible even if not *proprie*. S then provides an explanation for a plural concept, which DS also shares (occupying the full width of the page, it is seemingly

²⁷ The quote from Vergil, *ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi*, should be in italics or have some convention marking it as a quotation. Nevertheless, I have printed the text exactly as it appears in Jeunet-Mancy's text.

²⁸ Kaster 1988, pp. 169–97.

²⁹ See the lengthy note of Jeunet-Mancy, with, in the context of the *equites* subsidizing the fleet, due mention of Liv. 24.11.9.

redundant, since the initial DS comment contains both singular and plural explanations), i.e. *nauibus/aut omnium*, since Palinurus guided the fleet and Aeneas took over upon his death at the end of *Aen.* 5. Overall, it is not difficult to see the recognition of metonymy at play here.

Clearly the content alone is worthy of further discussion; though false and/or fanciful explanations are not uncommon amongst commentators. But, for our purposes, let us briefly look at a section of this text to see the compiler at work; although Jeunet-Mancy splits S and DS here by assigning only CLASSIQUE to S, both editors agree on the content assigned to DS.

CLASSIQUE nauibus suis, aut suae naui, quae classis dicitur,
uel quod fiat de fustibus. calas enim dicebant maiores nostri
fustes, quos portabant serui sequentes dominos ad proelium,
unde etiam calones dicebantur. nam consuetudo erat militis
Romani, ut ipse sibi arma portaret, ipse uallum: uallum autem
dicebant calam, sicut Lucilius *scinde calam, ut caleas*, id est, o puer,
frange fustes et fac focum. inde ergo classem dictam dicunt, alii
classem hinc magis dictam uolunt: apud maiores nostros stipendium
proelio terrestri miles pedester dabat, equites uero dabant in nauali
certamine; nam adhuc pauper fuerat populus. exinde iam quod ab
equitibus dabatur stipendium, tractum est ut diceretur classis: proprie
enim classes equitum dicimus.

The text marked in bold stems from S (see specifically the CLASSIQUE comment in Marshall's text above), so that is Servius in this exercise. The text with extended spacing undoubtedly constitutes the compiler's 'stitching', the combining of S with the other commentary by introducing changes or new content; the phrasing *ut in primo diximus, dicta est* is notably altered by removing the first person and changing *dicta est* to *dicitur*. Unlike the clearly linked yet separated *aut suae naui* (singular explanation)/*aut omnium* (plural explanation) balance evident in S, plural and singular are now juxtaposed at the beginning of a comment that will address both. The rest of the text, then, potentially stems from the commentary the compiler used in creating DS. Is this verbatim copying, along the lines of Murgia's preferred model? That may be the case. The text with dotted underlining seems likely to be the *ipsissima uerba* of the source. Yet the text with continuous underlining is questionable. Maltby has noted instances in which the names of Donatus and

Urbanus in DS have been changed to *alii*,³⁰ and here *dicunt* lacks any specific subject. Furthermore, Murgia has noted that *ergo* is a typical indicator of the compiler combining material from the larger commentary.³¹ The text with continuous underlining may thus constitute rewriting of the very commentary the compiler added to S. Put very, very simply, removal of Servius' first person and the observations of Murgia and Maltby offer basic clues for 'seeing' the compiler at work.

At any rate, let us turn our editorial focus back the bigger issue between the texts of Marshall and Jeunet-Mancy. It should be clear, if you look at Marshall's text, that I have largely omitted a DS CLASSIQUE comment in the discussion thus far. After all, we have three (one found in S and two found in DS): CLASSIQUE *nauibus suis* ... (DS), CLASSIQUE *aut suae nauī* ... (S), and CLASSIQUE IMMITTIT HABENAS *aut suae nauī* ... (DS). The comment preserving the lemma CLASSIQUE IMMITTIT HABENAS is very interesting, and our editors disagree on whether or not to split the text into DS and S.

Marshall's text:³²

CLASSIQUE IMMITTIT HABENAS aut suae
nauī sicut Horatius *me uel extremos*
Numidarum in agros classe releget
cum de una loqueretur nauī:

CLASSIQUE aut suae nauī quae classis,
ut in primo (39) diximus, dicta est ἀπὸ
τῶν κάλων, id est, a lignis, unde
Horatius *me uel extremos Numidarum*
in agros classe releget:

aut omnium quae eius cursum sequuntur; Palinuri enim implet officium, de quo supra ait *ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi*.

Jeunet-Mancy's text:

Aut suae nauī quae classis, ut in primo diximus, dicta est ἀπὸ τῶν κάλων, id est, a lignis, unde Horatius: *me uel extremos Numidarum in agros classe releget*:

cum de una loqueretur nauī;

³⁰ Maltby 2005, p. 215.

³¹ See the online publication of Murgia 2004, p. 9; <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/89p134jb>.

³² In the comment assigned to S, Marshall explains *ut in primo diximus* by inserting (39), which references the comment to *Aen.* 1.39.

aut omnium quae eius cursum sequuntur; Palinuri enim implet officium, de quo supra ait ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi.

That seemingly extra lemma and comment presented by Marshall, CLASSIQUE IMMITTIT HABENAS, is found only in C (Cassellanus Ms. Poet. Fol. 6),³³ which is an important DS manuscript.³⁴ The degree of difference and its importance is in question here. Jeunet-Mancy's text obviously considers the difference of little import. Only the CLASSIQUE lemma is isolated as S and the concessive clause *cum de una loqueretur naui* as DS. In doing so, however, Jeunet-Mancy's method conceals rather than elucidates.

Taking a closer look at C's text, IMMITTIT HABENAS with CLASSIQUE in the lemma seems a bit useless and redundant in light of the subsequent lemma and comment devoted solely to IMMITTIT HABENAS. A simple interpolation? That might be the case. IMMITTIT HABENAS is only abbreviated (*in·m·h·*) in C, as if an afterthought to the main focus of the lemma. The lemma of C, however, appears nowhere in Jeunet-Mancy's critical apparatus or notes. If one does not have Thilo & Hagen close by, the reader is not aware the lemma exists. If one is aware via Thilo & Hagen or otherwise, then we are left to assume the lemma is a singular error not worth our attention. More importantly, the CLASSIQUE IMMITTIT HABENAS comment suggests conscientious rewriting. The telltale sign of Servius' first person *ut in primo diximus* not only has been removed, but also the etymology. Instead, only the authoritative quote of Horace, preceded by a *sicut* that was once probably *unde* as seen in S, and the very blunt *cum de una loqueretur naui* is employed for exegesis. Poetic violation of *pro-prie* is dealt with quickly. If indeed rewriting, it is unfortunately impossible to know whether the compiler responsible contested the proposed etymology, or – not one to laud poetic figures – wanted to note simply what Vergil meant. Furthermore, the comment is not increasing content like the other DS comment above, i.e. adding material from another commentary, but redacting. C's CLASSIQUE IMMITTIT HABENAS comment seems very much

³³ C = Cassellanus Bibl. Publ. Ms. Poet. Fol. 6 (saec. IX): <https://orka.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/viewer/image/1327998010837/181/>

³⁴ Savage 1932, pp. 87–93.

like a scholion possibly culled from the margin of a text of Vergil and added to C's running commentary. Albeit a bit of crude, pedestrian exegesis, the gloss gets concealed in Jeunet-Mancy's critical apparatus as textual omission.³⁵ Yet in the context of user and use, rewriting and scribal omission are not necessarily the same thing.

In this instance, there are also two aspects of C that should be borne in mind. First, Savage points out that there are two correctors, out of the four visible hands, working at cross purposes: one has a copy of S and the other a DS manuscript, which Savage thought was probably the exemplar from which C derives.³⁶ Each has set about 'correcting' according to their source at hand. Savage, however, notes this correction at cross purposes only in the context of the comments on *Aen.* 1 and 2; Thilo & Hagen does not contextualise the correction but describes the scholia likewise (*continet Seruii commenta ad Aen. I–VI eaque in primo et secundo libro multis scholiis locupletata*).³⁷ Perhaps Savage was right in advising that our understanding of C would be enriched by a fuller investigation of the manuscript, since its pages were perused by individuals who had other copies of S and DS. Although I have consulted the digitised version of C available online for the purposes of this chapter, I have not conducted such a narrow investigation regarding its overall annotations and corrections. Regardless, it is clear that the comments on *Aen.* 6 show little annotation, marginal or interlinear, and the gloss in question here passes without further comment; there thus seems to be little or no correction at cross purposes for its transmission of *Aen.* 6.1 (for the moment, we must either assume the comment was in the other DS manuscript, or that the correction at cross purposes did not extend this far in C.). Second, for DS as a whole, C is not only solely responsible for preserving the CLASSIQUE IMMITTIT HABENAS comment and its abridged exegesis for the *navis* context,

³⁵ Here – and this is not the only instance – Jeunet-Mancy's critical apparatus is inadequate, if not confused. The entry records that content from *aut suae navi* to *iussi* is recorded in C but omitted in G. But then immediately reports that content from *classis* to *a lignis*, which comes right after *aut suae navi*, stems from G and is omitted in C. The entries may stand side by side in the apparatus, but the two states surely cannot coexist.

³⁶ Savage 1932, pp. 87–93.

³⁷ Thilo & Hagen 1881, p. iv.

but also preserves the IMMITTIT HABENAS comment that follows (see text back on page 311). As Murgia observes consistently in his *Prolegomena*, the relationships of the manuscripts are difficult and complicated by contamination.³⁸ The fundamental question here pertains to the origin of this seemingly rewritten comment. In the *Prolegomena* Murgia also describes C as the ‘main codex of DS for Aen. I–III. Contains a mixture of the three traditions on Aen. III–VI’.³⁹ Harvard vol. 2 describes C as ‘in quo continebatur DS commentarius ad Aeneidos I et II cum aliquot additamentis ex DS scholiis ad Aeneidos III–VI 830 exscriptis’.⁴⁰ And even Savage on the comment to *Aen.* 1.382 observes that C’s comment is not evidence of a ‘combiner in the act of welding together D and S for the first time’. Is it a rewritten Servius comment interpolated into DS? Is it possibly the work of another compiler combining, since the CLASSIQUE, CLASSIQUE IMMITTIT HABENAS, and IMMITTIT HABENAS comments sit in that order as readable and distinct units in C (i.e. it first came into existence within the DS tradition)? Without a full investigation into C, I will not engage in any speculation. Yet we should note that a mixture of three different agendas seems evident:

- 1) S aims at addressing Vergil’s use of *classis* in a concise manner. There is a simple etymology, a quote from Horace, and an explanation for the plural implication of *classis* that is dependent on reading the Aeneid alone. This would be useful in conveying proper usage.
- 2) The compiler wants a more detailed exegesis based on both Roman history and literature, and so introduces the lengthy note; if truly the D commentary, this is material Servius chose to ignore.
- 3) Along with the DS comment just noted, C preserves this simplified exegesis that entirely removes the etymology in favour of a blunt explanation of what Vergil meant. This shorter comment plus the remaining aut *omnium ... iussi* concisely illustrates Vergil’s metonymy.

³⁸ Murgia 1975.

³⁹ Murgia 1975, p. 188.

⁴⁰ Thilo & Hagen 1881, p. v.

Incidentally this closer look at C also has (or should have) some effect on the reconstitution of the initial DS comment (now enclosed as in Murgia & Kaster).

CLASSIQUE nauibus suis, aut suae nauī, quae classis dicitur, uel quod fiat de fustibus. calas enim dicebant maiores nostri fustes, quos portabant serui sequentes dominos ad proelium, unde etiam calones dicebantur. nam consuetudo erat militis Romani, ut ipse sibi arma portaret, ipse uallum: uallum autem dicebant calam, sicut Lucilius *scinde calam, ut caleas*, id est, o puer, frange fustes et fac focum. inde ergo classem dictam dicunt. alii classem hinc magis dictam uolunt: apud maiores nostros stipendium proelio terrestri miles pedester dabat, equites uero dabant in nauali certamine; nam adhuc pauper fuerat populus. exinde iam quod ab equitibus dabatur stipendium, tractum est ut diceretur classis: proprie enim classes equitum dicimus.

Although both Marshall and Jeunet-Mancy read CLASSIQUE *nauibus suis, aut suae nauī*, we should note that *aut suae* is taken from the CLASSIQUE IMMITTIT HABENAS comment and used to reconstruct the DS text on the simple grounds that C is a DS manuscript.

CLASSIQUE IMMITTIT HABENAS aut suae nauī sicut Horatius *me uel extremos Numidarum in agros classe releget* cum de una loqueretur nauī:

Yet C's initial DS comment reads *nauibus suis· nauī*, while G (Bernensis Bibl. Publ. 167), the other important manuscript for this text, reads *nauibus suis siue nauīs*. The two manuscripts strongly suggest that the stitching of the compiler is more likely *nauibus suis siue nauī*. Certainly one can take *aut suae* from C's 'extra' lemma and comment as a DS manuscript. However, as noted above, this comment seems more like a rewriting of S and not indicative of the stitching together of Servius with another commentary. Moreover *aut* is simply a coordinating link to *aut omnium* within the CLASSIQUE IMMITTIT HABENAS comment, which is shared by DS and S in C. Yet why link the two comments via a coordinating *aut*? C clearly shows both comments as unique and not grammatically connected entries. The initial DS comment is a standalone entry, since it juxtaposes the singular and plural

right at the beginning and provides explanations for both. Thus *siue* produces a more grammatically stable reading. It is simply the ‘either/or’ scenario with omission of the first *siue*, as clearly documented in the *OLD* (s.v. 5b and 6, and supported by Cicero’s use at *Fam.* 5.20.6 *relatum est ut tu siue frater tuus referri uoluit*). In C’s *nauibis suis· nauī* the *siue* likely dropped out due to a close (but not exact) instance of homioarchon. In reconstructing the initial DS comment with *aut*, both Jeunet-Mancy and Marshall are forcing a grammatical coordination between two DS comments that is both not there and essentially ungrammatical, as it produces *aut ... aut ... aut*. But I suspect, in the end, this all goes back to the unified text of Thilo & Hagen where we first find *CLAS-SIQUE nauibus suis, aut suae nauī*. Once again, constructing a unified text can both conceal information and obfuscate manuscript relationships.

In the big picture of what Servius is, then, although both editors technically split the text, Marshall does so more explicitly. Why keep this ‘extra’ lemma and its content in the text? Jeunet-Mancy clearly considers DS and S as the same with a minor difference, and thus the abridged rewrite in C is suppressed. Marshall may have decided to keep it because he was simply following a more conservative approach, like the one evident in Harvard vol. 3; even in the case of minor differences just split the text. Regardless of how one interprets Marshall’s intent, his text here presents Servius for what Servius is. Servius is Servian. Servius is scholia. Servius is perhaps sylloge.

In taking up the task of editing Servius I am reminded of Michael Haslam’s assessment of the Homeric Lexicon of Apollonius Sophista. Its transmission constitutes of one codex of the 9th century and, at the present time, seven papyrus fragments that convey the ancient lexicon’s elasticity. Depending on desired use, it was permissible to alter and rewrite Apollonius; the lexicon even appears to have had at least two different titles.⁴¹ Even with

⁴¹ I am currently working with my colleague Dr Chiara Meccariello on a much needed new edition of Apollonius’ *Homeric Lexicon*, which is based on the preliminary work of Michael Haslam. Although the one mediaeval codex preserves the title *Ἀπολλωνίου Σοφιστοῦ λεξικὸν κατὰ στοιχεῖον τῆς τε Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσεΐας*, Haslam has conjectured the original title to be *Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀρχιβίου λέξεις Ὀμηρικαί*.

such minimal evidence, the idea of reconstructing Apollonius' original text for every lexical entry is not a realistic goal. Servius might be better served with a similar assessment. It is certainly not the case that neither text should be edited. Rather, for Servius, it is better to accept S and DS for what they are: two strands that preserve a Servian tradition of commentary and/or scholia. The comments, even in cases of variant forms as we have seen here, can be critically represented. As for D, it is a sort of a phantom limb. The extracts are indeed there. And if Donatus can be isolated in any of these manuscripts – especially via indirect evidence, like the points at which Macrobius' *Saturnalia* and DS overlap – so be it. Yet we no longer need to exhaust ourselves by attempting to disentangle a mess that is most likely an insoluble problem. It is far better to present the two strands in the most comprehensive way possible. In the context of ancient readership and specifically Vergilian exegesis – and no matter how one judges this 'extra' lemma and content in C – all the comments were attributed to Servius. Rewriting was an accepted part of the commentary's life cycle.

As a sort of appendix to this chapter, section IV offers a draft example of how I set the text and critical attributes for the comment to *Aen.* 6.1. I also offer a brief note regarding manuscript consultation and reconstitution of the text. Now, however, let us think about the digital.

2. *Much Ado About Digital*

Why digital? The question may sound trivial. But it is important. For anyone familiar with Extensible Markup Language (XML), the amount of time involved in marking up an edition of a Classical author, whether the edition is critical or not so critical, is lengthy. The process, to be blunt, is also quite tedious. XML is not really a human-readable language – and the machine does not care for it much either, as the quip roughly goes. At one point, you will then definitely ask the big question: Why? Well, as a schema for encoding documents XML is ubiquitous in the exchange of data over the internet. For Classics there are also the standards for encoding set in place by the Text Encoding Initia-

tive (TEI) and Epi-doc. We also know how to translate a text in XML into HTML, so your front end search experience can be pleasant or painful, depending on the developer. We thus have the fundamental means and method to create a digital edition: a standard and a few devices through which to interface that edition. But an answer that basically means ‘because I can’ is not really a great response. Then perhaps search should be invoked again. The online platforms of Perseus, the TLG, and Papyri.info are well known primarily because we can iterate over thousands of texts and filter according to our research needs at a given moment. Perseus and the TLG also offer morphological and lexical analysis to assist the reading process. Such a vast amount of data also opens the pathway to different approaches to analysing texts, such as distant reading, interrogating authorial identity through stylometry, and adding new layers of data visualization for the practice of stemmatology. Current digital methods for facilitating traditional Classics research and now Digital Classics/Humanities research certainly constitute a more robust response to the fundamental question. And a digital Servius would be useful in such context. Yet Servius is technically already available in that context. The edition of Thilo & Hagen is in both Perseus and the Packard Humanities Institute Online Classical Latin Texts platform. However, the text in Perseus – not to be overly critical but simply honest – is essentially useless, since it has stripped out even the limited typographical conventions, such as the italics used to mark readings from DS. In this respect, the text in the Packard Humanities Institute Online Classical Latin Texts is at least a little better, since brackets have been placed around DS material. So, do we need another digital Servius? Yes! We need not only a digital Servius that is critical, in the philological sense, but one that also allows the user to interface and engage the problematic variables noted in section one of this chapter. The Harvard project wanted to surpass Thilo & Hagen with a more useful text. Even in the digital arena we also need a far more useful Servius.

In 2015 the Proteus project, for the sake of experimentation alone, began to play with digital Servius concepts. What is Proteus? Launching in 2020, Proteus (proteusproject.uk) is a digital philological ecosystem for both creating next-generation critical

editions and documenting the textual criticism (i.e. publishing critical notes) that underwrites them. We have developed a virtual space for collaborative critical editing, a process whereby one or multiple scholars in collaboration can produce digital editions, suggest conjectures, and submit critical notes, all of which are then published and accessible for future research via its online search platform. Focusing on Greek and Latin literary and sub-literary papyrus fragments in its first iteration, Proteus provides a way to interface and examine the change that occurs as fragments are re-edited over time; it is designed to not just house multiple editions of a given text, but to spawn multiple editions. Proteus' new Digital Editor for Classical Philology (DELPHI) allows for the creation of all the attributes that make an edition critical and thus citable in scholarship: critical apparatus, testimonia, palaeographical apparatus, diplomatic transcriptions, and even the ability to edit marginalia. DELPHI also employs a markdown concept that allows a user to create a digital edition without entering any XML. Automated translation of markdown into full XML and HTML5 in live time is provided.

Our experiment with modelling Servius began with verifying if we could simply render Marshall's text and the Harvard model in Proteus. Visually this was not difficult to do. We crudely used our XML schema for papyri to isolate S and DS – this was done quickly, so do overlook the minor errors/typos and the lack of Servius typographical conventions, such as dividing lines to enclose DS material, in the following example.

1 CLASSIQUE IMMITTIT HABENAS aut
suae navi sicut Horatius "me vel
extremos Numidarum in agros classe
releget cum de una loqueretur navi":

1 CLASSIQUE aut suae navi quae classis, ut in
primo (39) diximus, dicta est ὁπὸ τῶν κλάων, id
est, a lignis, unde Horatius me vel extremos
Numidarum in agros classe releget

Servius is a codex or a book, and the fundamental XML standards regarding essential metadata and pagination exist. But in this instance it was easy to treat the principle sources of Servius' manuscript tradition as 'fragments'. In a digital edition of a papyrus with more than one fragment the markup is `<div type="textpart" subtype="fragment" n="1"></div>`. In the image above we simply replaced fragment with S and DS, e.g. `<div type="textpart" subtype="S"></div>` and `<div type="textpart" subtype="DS"></div>`. Rendering the layout of the text as found in the Harvard

editions is thus not a problem. Moreover, tags to mark S and DS source material would also allow a user to see not only S or DS sit side by side, but also, if desired, only see S or DS material.

Similarly, creating a critical apparatus was also a straightforward task. XML schemas for a critical apparatus have long been available. Although many list their critical entries in a sequential format like footnotes, in Proteus the critical apparatus is designed to render a layout that matches current critical editions in print.

The XML :

```
// Critical Apparatus
<div type="apparatus">
  <div type="app_textpart">
    <lb n="1"><seg type="appItem">...</seg></lb>
    <lb n="3"><seg type="appItem">...</seg><seg type="appItem">...</seg></lb>
    <lg n="5-7">
      <seg type="appItem">...</seg>
      <seg type="appItem">...</seg>
    </lg>
  </div>
</div>
```

Although we took a more conservative path in implementing the critical apparatus in Proteus, i.e. rendering it just as it would appear in an OCT or Teubner edition, we did want to lay some foundation for making apparatus' readings more dynamic with the text itself. The addition of some Javascript now allows the user to reveal a text box at the end of any line with critical variance or conjecture. Admittedly, I do not find this terribly exciting, but it is part of the inevitable path towards reinventing the critical edition in terms of how one interfaces both text and the data in the critical apparatus. This would also assist in dealing with the line number problem of Servius and how that effects reading the three apparatuses or even two. Due to the splitting of the text (parallel S and DS) and the different lengths of a given S and DS comment, line numbering is not exactly consistent. Two methods have been employed. First, one can begin counting down the margin at each new page, as evidenced in Marshall's original typescript, thus enforcing consistency; this method has also been adopted in Murguía & Kaster vol. 5. Notably, this goes against the usual method of assigning line numbers to scholia based on the comment as one

complete unit, which was used by Harvard vols 2 and 3. Or, as evidenced in the edition of Jeunet-Mancy, no line numbers are employed. The user must logically read critical apparatus items as listed in order of appearance. Yet, with even a little repetition of words, this can cause confusion. Whether or not line numbers are used, the Javascript would visually assist in locating the area of text in question and thus prevent any confusion.

As for the testimonia, Proteus currently renders that on the right side of the screen, with an accordion (i.e. hiding/revealing) effect that allows for entering lengthy quotations. Considering Servius' extensive use of the page layout for separating S and DS, we stopped at this point. Our current method could work or another apparatus immediately below the text, which is the standard for testimonia in printed editions, could be employed. At any rate, this was a quick experiment, not an actual project goal. In the end, creating a digital model that applies the conventions of the Harvard edition of Servius is very straightforward. And in that context, it is a pleasure to note that the Digital Latin Library (DLL) has now made great strides in creating that model based on the Murgia & Kaster edition of vol. 5 (*Aen.* 9–12). This model includes well-defined XML tags and structure for S, DS, the testimonia, and Murgia's one critical apparatus. Moreover, the DLL employs an 'active' critical apparatus, in which the listed variance and conjecture can now actually be substituted in the text by the reader. This is a major advancement in digital critical editions, a feature that can be described truly as third generation. A new digital Servius is forthcoming.

While the ability to create successfully a digital version of Servius that conforms to our expectations is indeed an achievement, the digital architecture, the data model, must also be aware of more than just the unique design of the Harvard edition. Two issues, in particular, are worthy of further investigation: the compiler and search. During our experiment it was clear that search was essential to a useful digital Servius. However, I am not talking about simple Latin word searches, since that is rather obvious and easy to facilitate. Rather, Servius' complete commentaries to the works of Vergil are not unlike Keil's *Grammatici Latini*; the volumes are not necessarily meant to be read cover to cover. It is primarily a reference and research tool. The question then is how does one query Servius.

Well, some fundamental queries come to mind. Where does Servius comment on metre? What comments pertain to Roman law? What comments focus on mythology? Although savvy word searches alone should result in the desired output, that scenario is predicated on a user that is acutely aware of the Latin phraseology for which they are looking. General word searches will get you there, but they will also result in a lot of undesired output. Categorizing and classifying Servian lemmata might thus be useful. An XML tag such as `<lemma category="metre">` could quickly isolate comments which then could be further filtered depending on the user's desire. During the digitisation and correction of Marshall's typescript, we could isolate the following categories thus far: mythology, history, literary criticism, simple glosses, etymology, grammar, rhetorical figures, semantics, culture, and religion.⁴² Similarly, the patterns of the compiler are also evident enough to warrant tagging. As noted in section one regarding the initial DS comment, we could highlight the stitching, Servius, the compiler's changes, and the compiler's source commentary. If we tagged these components, as we do S and DS, this would offer the ability to interrogate and visualize the constitution of Servius' text in new ways. This should also make us think about how we tag the text that extends the width of the printed page. The text shared by S and DS needs to be tagged as shared text.

Servius has always presented fundamentally a unique challenge to the human eye. How do we recognise and understand clearly the text's constitution? And so in building a digital Servius, we must think beyond just the basic concept of S and DS as sources to be tagged and the general structure of the Harvard model. We already have the technological tools and standards to address those issues. There is another layer of data that can, or even should, be mined and visualised. A useful digital Servius would allow the user to search efficiently for content and both to search for and to visualise its parts: S, DS, text shared by S and DS, areas of rewriting, the source commentary added to S, etc. This indeed would be an entirely new kind of Servius.

⁴² This research was provided, with customary precision, by Dr Vasiliki Gianpoulou.

3. *Conclusion*

Servius' commentary was designed to be useful, and it indeed was widely used in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, whether found as an independent commentary or as marginal glosses in a text of Vergil. I suppose the irony is that Servius has not been so useful to researchers in the modern period. Yet this has little to do with the comments themselves. Rather, Servius' position and authority has been stuck in limbo, oscillating between scholia and revered grammatical text, each with its own set of implications in terms of textual transmission and presentation of the edited text. Although the Harvard model may seem complex, it does a good job of separating S and DS whenever possible. As two unique strands, they should be separated. That said, I do not think anyone should assume that every comment necessarily reflects the exact words of Servius, the text of the D commentary, or even the compiler; there are too many uncertain variables. And so, if Servius is to be useful, as he was for centuries of readers of Vergil, then S and DS are perhaps better seen as two Servian traditions and their text edited and presented as such. This can be done using the Harvard model. Moreover, with the on-going digitisation projects in European libraries, it is becoming quite easy to consult manuscripts. A complete edition of Servius' comments to the works of Vergil can and will be done. Furthermore, to make Servius even more useful, section two of this chapter constitutes a basic discussion on how straightforward it is now to render a digital Servius and how we might want to search and visualize its complexity. A new digital Servius is also coming soon. Nevertheless, as I complete Peter Marshall's work on *Aen.* 6, I envision print publication in the end. As much as I champion the advancement and even sheer re-invention of the critical edition in digital form, as both Proteus and the DLL continue to do, I think we can assume Peter Marshall worked with a print edition in mind. We should honour that.

4. *Servius on Aeneid 6: Text in Progress*

The text presented below is the first instance of what the Brusuelas & Marshall edition might look like. I have employed only the one critical apparatus, i.e. Murgia's lower apparatus, in the following example. As noted above, the upper apparatus in Murgia & Kaster

is used only to report the testimony of two MSS (T and v) for DS. I will address this later, as I intend to follow Murgia's path so that vol. 4 and 5 are consistent. Thus far I have checked digitised versions or facsimiles of the following manuscripts: L, A, Q, F, G, C. For manuscripts E and N, I must rely for the time being on the reports of Jeunet-Mancy. M and (R) are also only cited once, relying on the reports of Thilo & Hagen; parentheses are used here for R in accordance with Murgia's sigla in his *Prolegomena*.⁴³ I am in the process of acquiring digital copies of all remaining manuscripts for proper inclusion, including W (Guelferbytanus Bibl. Civ. 2091). As a part of Murgia's σ family, along with N, it is a copy of V (Vaticanus Latinus 3327, which perishes at *Aen.* 1.35) and should be checked for readings superior to those found in N.⁴⁴ Once all manuscripts have been consulted, the lower apparatus in the final product will also look different in terms of sigla, as Murgia's stemma and exact method of citation can then be employed. I also prefer a lean and mean apparatus, and so I am opposed to printing orthographical variants or blatant errors; for example, unlike Jeunet-Mancy, I find no reason to report *pedes tardabat* in G alongside the obviously correct *pedester dabat* in C. At the moment, I also forego reporting the erroneous and garbled Greek consistently transmitted in all manuscripts. When a reading from DS is used to report a variant for what are clear errors reported in S, MSS sigla is in boldface. Note also that, as in Murgia & Kaster, for internal cross-references and references to authors the *loci* are cited in parentheses in the text; for Lucilius, the fragment number is from Marx's edition. *Steph* in the critical apparatus refers to the edition of Stephanus. Finally, our text follows the original Harvard model in presenting DS on the left and S on the right.

4.1. Servius

L = Leidensis B. P. L. 52 (saec. VIII/IX)

A = Caroliruhensis Bibl. Publ. Aug. CXVI (saec. IX)

Q = Laurentianus Mediceus plut. 45 cod. 14 (saec. IX)

⁴³ Murgia 1975.

⁴⁴ The exclusion of W was a notable point of criticism in the BMCR review (2012.12.48) of Jeunet-Mancy's edition.

E = Escorialensis T. II. 17 (saec. IX with corrections saec. X/XI et XV)

N = Neapolitanus Vindobonensis Latinus 5 (saec. X)

M = Monacensis Bibl. Civ. Latinus 6394 (with contemporary corrections saec. XI)

4.2. Servius Auctus

F = Parisinus Bibl. Publ. Nat. Lat. 7929 (saec. IX)

G = Bernensis Bibl. Publ. 167 (saec. IX; a partial copy of F)

C = Casselanus Bibl. Publ. Ms. Poet. Fol. 6 (saec. IX)

4.3. Codices Cited for their Interpolations from DS⁴⁵

(R) Vaticanus Reginensis Latinus 1674 – a τ codex containing Servius on Aen. VI–XII (saec. IX)

4.4. In Vergilii Aeneidos Librum Sextum Commentarii

Totus quidem Vergilius scientia plenus est, in qua hic liber possidet principatum, cuius ex Homero pars maior est. et dicuntur aliqua simpliciter, multa de historia, multa per altam scientiam philosophorum, theologorum, Aegyptiorum, adeo ut plerique de his singulis huius libri integras scripserint pragmatias. sane sciendum licet primos duos uersus Probus
5 et alii in quinti reliquerint fine, prudenter ad initium sexti esse translato; nam et coniunctio poematis melior est, et Homerus etiam sic inchoauit (Il. 1.357) ὡς φάτο δάκρυ χέων.

10 1. CLASSIQUE nauibus suis siue suae nauī, quae classis dicitur, uel quod fiat de fustibus. calas enim dicebant maiores nostri fustes, quos portabant serui sequentes dominos ad proelium, unde etiam calones dicebantur. Nam consuetudo erat militis Romani, ut ipse sibi arma portaret, ipse uallum: uallum autem dicebant calam, sicut Lucilius (fr. 966) *scinde calam, ut caleas*, id est, o puer, frange fustes et
15 fac focum. inde ergo classem dictam dicunt. Alii classem hinc magis dictam uolunt: apud maiores nostros stipendium proelio terrestri miles pedester dabat, equites uero dabant in nauali certamine; nam adhuc pauper fuerat populus. exinde iam quod ab equitibus dabatur stipendium, tractum est ut
20 diceretur classis: proprie enim classes equitum dicimus.

⁴⁵ This is the rubric under which (R) is listed in Murgia 1975, p. 190.

25 CLASSIQUE IMMITTIT HABENAS aut suae nauī sicut Horatius (<i>Carm.</i> 3.11.48) <i>me uel extremos Numidarum in agros classe</i> <i>releget</i> cum de una loqueretur nauī:	CLASSIQUE aut suae nauī quae classis, ut in primo (39) diximus, dicta est ἀπὸ τῶν κλάων, id est, a lignis, unde Horatius (<i>Carm.</i> 3.11.48) <i>me uel</i> <i>extremos Numidarum in agros classe releget</i> :
---	--

aut omnium quae eius cursum sequuntur; Palinuri enim implet officium, de quo supra ait (5.834) ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi.

IMMITTIT HABENAS aut funes per metaphoram dixit, aut Homerum secutus est, qui ait (Od. 2.426) uela erigi ἐντρέπτοις βοεῦσιν, id est loris tortis: his enim utebantur antiqui.

1 1 Totus quidem – *schol. ad u. 13 om.* F | in qua hic liber GCLQEN: in hoc libro A | 2 simpliciter GCAEN: simpli LQ | 3 theologorum R: -gicorum GCAQEN: -giorum L | Aegyptiorum CLAQENM: *om.* G | singulis GCE: -li LAQN | 4 integras CLAQENM: -ram G | scripserint CLAQENM: -runt G | pragmatias LAQENM: -tica GC | sane – χέων CLAQENM: *om.* G | 5 reliquerint GCLQEN: relin- A | fine GCLAEN: -em Q | 6 Homerus – inchoauit LAQENM: homerus quem sequitur in odyssia sic coepit C | 8 siue G: nauibus suis-nauī C | nauī C: -uis G | 9 uel G: *om.* C | calas *Steph*: cales GC | 10 nostri G: *om.* C | 14 ut cales M: uel cadas C: uel calas G | id est G: *om.* C | 16 magis G: *om.* C | 17 proelio C: -lium G | 20 equitum C: -tes G | 21 CLASSIQUE IN. M. H. C: CLAS-SIQUE LAQENM: CLASSIQUE (IN. M. H.) aut suae nauī – iussi CLAQENM *om.* G | 22 sicut GC: unde LAQENM | 28 IMMITTIT HABENAS – antiqui CLAQENM: *om.* G

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- E. Jeunet-Mancy (2012), *Commentaire sur l'Énéide de Virgile. Livre VI*, Paris: Belles Lettres.
- C. Murgia & R. A. Kaster (2018), *Serviani in Vergili Aeneidos libros IX–XII commentarii*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- G. Ramires (1996), *Servio. Commento al libro IX dell'Eneide di Virgilio*, Bologna: Quarto Inferiore.
- G. Ramires (2003), *Servio. Commento al libro VII dell'Eneide di Virgilio*, Bologna: Quarto Inferiore.
- E. K. Rand, J. J. Savage, H. T. Smith, G. B. Waldrop, J. P. Elder, B. M. Peebles & A. F. Stocker (1946), *Servianorum in Vergilii Carmina Commentariorum editionis Harvardianae volume II, quod in Aeneidos libros I et II explanationes continent*, Lancaster, PA: American Philological Association.

- A. F. Stocker & A. T. Travis (1965), *Servianorum in Vergilii Carmina Commentariorum editionis Harvardianae volume III, quod in Aeneidos libros III–V explanationes continent*, Lancaster, PA: American Philological Association.
- G. Thilo & H. Hagen (1881–1902), *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina Commentarii*, I–III, Leipzig: Teubner (repr. 1961).

Secondary Literature

- D. Comparetti (1885/1997), *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, trans. E. F. M. Benecke, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1997 [first published in Italian in 1885].
- D. Daintree (1990), ‘The Virgil Commentary of Aelius Donatus – Black Hole or “Éminence Grise”?’ in *Greece & Rome*, 37, pp. 65–79.
- E. Fraenkel (1949), ‘Servianorum in Vergilii Carmina Commentariorum Editionis Harvardianae. Volumen II, Quod in Aeneidos Libros I et II Explanationes Continet by E. K. Rand, J. J. Savage, H. T. Smith, G. B. Waldrop, J. P. Elder, B. M. Peebles, A. F. Stocker’, in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 39, pp. 145–54.
- G. P. Goold (1970), ‘Servius and the Helen Episode’, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 74, pp. 101–68.
- M. W. Haslam (1994), ‘The Homer “Lexicon of Apollonius Sophista” I. Composition and Constituents’, in *Classical Philology*, 89, pp. 1–45.
- R. A. Kaster (1988), *Guardians of Language. The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- J. Linderski (2008), ‘Servio. Commento al libro VII dell’Eneide di Virgilio’, in *Latomus*, 67, pp. 184–85.
- R. Maltby (2003), ‘Evidence for Late and Colloquial Latin in the Commentaries of Porphyrio, Donatus and Servius’, in H. Solin, M. Leiwo & H. Halla-aho (eds), *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif*. 6. Actes du VI^e colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif, Helsinki, 29 août–2 septembre 2000, Hildesheim, Zürich: Olms-Weidmann, pp. 265–76.
- R. Maltby (2005), ‘Donatus and Terence in Servius and Servius Danielis’, in T. Fögen (ed.), *Antike Fachtexte*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 207–20.
- P. K. Marshall (1983), ‘Servius’, in L. D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 385–88.

- P. K. Marshall (1997), *Servius and Commentary on Virgil*, Asheville, North Carolina: Pegasus Press.
- C. E. Murgia (1975), *Prolegomena to Servius 5: the Manuscripts*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- C. E. Murgia (2003), 'The Truth about Vergil's Commentators', in R. Rees (ed.), *Romane Memento. Vergil in the Fourth Century*, London: Duckworth pp. 189–200.
- C. E. Murgia (2004), 'Why is the APA/Harvard Servius? Editing Servius', in *eScholarship: University of California*, <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/89p134jb>, pp. 1–18.
- J. J. H. Savage (1932), 'The Manuscripts of the Commentary of Servius Danielis on Virgil', in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 43, pp. 77–121.
- J. E. G. Zetzel (1975), 'On the History of Latin Scholia', in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 79, pp. 335–54.

Abstract

The problem of editing the text of Servius' commentary on Virgil is well documented. Put simply, we not only have manuscripts that preserve so-called pure Servius (S), but also a manuscript tradition preserving so-called Servius Auctus (DS), manuscripts that combine Servius' commentary with other learned material – including the lost commentary of Aelius Donatus. While S may be pure Servius, what exactly is Servius in DS? How to combine and disentangle the two traditions in one cogent critical edition has thus always been the challenge. The purpose of this chapter is twofold: 1) it reviews how this problem has been handled, from the edition of Thilo & Hagen (1881–1887) to the much improved Harvard editions of vol. 2 in 1946 (*Aeneid* 1–2) and vol. 3 in 1965 (*Aeneid* 3–5) – vol. 1 was preserved for the *Georgics* and *Bucolics*; 2) it covers current progress on supplementing the Harvard editions with work on vol. 4 (*Aeneid* 6–8), begun by the late Peter K. Marshall, and explores how this complicated textual tradition might also be handled digitally.

LARA PAGANI
University of Genova

PAPYRUS COMMENTARIES ON THE *ILLAD**

1. Hypomnemata *within the Framework of the* Homeric

Secondary literature can provide important information with regard to the cultural history of the period to which it belongs: it can shed light on the way in which an author was read in a certain age and what kind of aids were judged to be useful in order to understand and appreciate his work. Since Homer was for centuries the cornerstone of teaching and culture in ancient Greece, research on secondary literature concerning this author proves to be particularly profitable.

The ancient material that can be broadly labelled as *Homerica*, i.e. secondary literature on Homer, is preserved by papyrus fragments. Its typology is manifold: besides commentaries (which were called *hypomnemata*), one may find monographic treatises (*syngrammata*), glossaries (which have traditionally been defined as *scholia minora*), alphabetical lexica, fragments of the so called *Mythographus Homericus* (a sort of *hypomnema* which was limited to a mythographical subject),¹ paraphrases and summaries

* This research was performed within the framework of the project 'Omero, Esiodo, Pindaro, Eschilo: forme e trasmissione dell'esegesi antica', financed in the program FIRB – Futuro in Ricerca 2012 by the Italian Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università, della Ricerca; the paper was delivered for publication in September 2016: afterwards some minor updates have been made. I wish to thank Fausto Montana, Franco Montanari, Davide Muratore and Serena Perrone for helpful discussions on various topics of my paper and Rachel Barritt Costa for the English language revision.

¹ By the (modern) expression *Mythographus Homericus* we refer to a lost work that treated the mythological narratives mentioned in the Homeric poems:

(*hypotheses*).² In some cases, the fragmentary condition of these materials makes it difficult to establish beyond any doubt the real nature of a text and therefore to assign it to the most appropriate category of scholarly products.

To make things worse, modern philology at times describes some of these materials (especially remains of commentaries or the *Mythographus Homericus*, as well as glossaries) by means of the term 'scholia', which would be better kept only for the notes collected in the medieval *corpora*. This distinction not only would help to avoid terminological inconsistencies, but would also have the merit of giving an account of the inherent differences in terms of scope, nature and structure between ancient *Homerica* and medieval scholia.³

Theoretically, in order for a fragment to be classified as a *hypomnema*, it should display certain characteristics from the point of view of both the structure and the content. With regard to the arrangement of the text, the *hypomnemata* were made up of a series of lemmata (i.e. the passages of the poetic text commented upon: these may consist of just one word, or an expression, or even a phrase) followed by the relevant *interpretamenta* (i.e. the explanations relating to each part of the poetic text). The sequence of the lemmata corresponded to the order of the poetic work.

since the sequence of myths in MH followed their succession in the poems, it was arranged as a commentary, but of a very specialized kind. Cf. van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, pp. 85–118 and 278–309; Montanari 1995a, pp. 74–77; Montanari 1995b; Montanari 2002 (with reference to the *Odyssey*); Pagès Cebrián 2007; Montanari, Matthaïos & Rengakos 2015, *passim*.

² Cf. Montanari 1995a, who also explains the reasons why the idea of identifying a further genre in anthologies is to be rejected (esp. p. 73); Montanari 2012b, pp. 2–5 and 10–12.

³ Despite Gudeman's statement that '[es i]st [...] vom wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt aus eine einwandfreie Unterscheidung zwischen Kommentar und Scholien nicht möglich, [...]' (Gudeman 1921, esp. col. 630), Montanari's appeal for rigorous application of a terminology that can mark the distinction (Montanari 2012b, pp. 11–12 and n. 34) appears highly apposite. The basis of such an approach can be found in the study of Montana 2011, esp. pp. 105–10, where a *corpus* of scholia is defined as 'an exegetic *editio variorum*, designed to be made up in an orderly way alongside or around the text commented upon' (p. 107), thus excluding both ancient *marginalia* (that do not respond to the requirement of 'compiling and stratifying different sources' [ibid.] – at least there exists so far no example in which this characteristic can be positively demonstrated) and the glossaries, traditionally defined as *scholia minora* (that are not arranged 'like a frame' around the literary text).

Some formal devices were applied, with different degrees of precision, in order to visually distinguish the various pairs of lemma and *interpretamentum* from one another and also to isolate each lemma. The most widespread device was the use of blank spaces within the line as a means of structuring the text; in addition, one finds lemmata written in *ekthesis* (hanging), at times followed by a blank space, or with the sign of the *paragraphos* (a short horizontal stroke) placed on the left beneath the line on which the lemma begins; the *paragraphos* marking the end of a quotation or of a comment; the sign of the *diple* or the *diple obelismene* (also called ‘forked *paragraphos*’) indicating a new lemma; a *dicolon* or a middle point placed after the lemma and/or at the end of a note.⁴

Nevertheless in some extant papyri the internal structuring of the text is not carefully observed and at times the fragmentary state does not allow clear recognition of this system. Whenever it is not possible to identify a sequence of lemmata and *interpretamenta* that follows the order of the literary text, then we may have no founded reason for speaking of a commentary rather than a treatise.⁵ One of the features of a treatise is that it should be characterized by a unitary subject matter, whereas commentaries deal with a wider variety of themes, depending on the type of problem posed by the literary work in each passage. But with very scanty fragments even this kind of distinction may not be viable.

On the other hand, the structural arrangement and order of the material displayed by the *hypomnemata* was exactly the same as that of glossaries: therefore, provided that these typical formal aspects can be identified in a fragment, its content must likewise be considered before it can be classified as a commentary rather than a glossary.⁶ The latter typically consists merely in a series of poetic words with their explanations, synonyms, and at times dialect considerations or brief ‘prosopographic’ information; a commentary, on the other hand, contains a very diversified range of observations regarding the poetic texts, where the explanation of

⁴ See Fig. 1 and *infra* for examples related to the Iliadic commentaries.

⁵ Cf. Montanari 2012b, p. 10.

⁶ Cf. Montanari 2012b, p. 10 n. 26. For the distinctions between glossaries and paraphrases on the one hand and between paraphrases and *hypotheses* (abstracts) on the other, see Montanari 1995, pp. 79–81.

- 1) Blank spaces:
lemma interpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentumint
erpretamentum lemma interpretamentuminterpreta
mentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentum lemma interpretam
entuminterpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentum
- 2) Lemma in ekthesis (followed by a blank space):
lemma interpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentum
 interpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentum
entum interpretamentum interpretamentum
- 3) Lemma in ekthesis (with paragraphos):
lemma interpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentum
 interpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentum
 interpretamentum
- 4) Diple indicating a new lemma:
interpretamentum > lemma interpretamentuminterpretamentum
interpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentum
- 5) Diple obelismene indicating a new lemma:
lemma interpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpr
etamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentuminte
rpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentum
- 6) Dicolon after the lemma:
lemma : interpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentum
interpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentum
- 7) Dicolon after the interpretamentum:
interpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentum
interpretamentuminterpretamentum : lemma
- 8) Middle point after the lemma:
lemma · interpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentum
interpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentum
- 9) Middle point after the interpretamentum:
interpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentuminterpretamentum
interpretamentuminterpretamentum · lemma

FIG. 1

words may play a role,⁷ but this element is heavily intermingled with considerations of a different nature, such as the exegesis of passages, the discussion of textual variants, grammatical reflections, mythological or content-related lines of reasoning, and so on. Additionally, the characteristics of the lemmatization can at times provide indications in this regard: if one finds at least a long lemma, of more than one single word or expression, it may seem justifiable to exclude the idea of a glossary, whereas if a lemma records a word not in the same inflected form as that in which it appears in the literary text, but as a normalized entry, this may speak in favour of a glossary.⁸

2. *A Survey of the hypomnemata to the Iliad*

In order to substantiate this theoretical discussion and to apply it to the specific case of Homeric exegesis, we need first and foremost to establish a well-founded picture of the witnesses that are involved. Some lists of Homeric *hypomnemata* have been drawn up in recent decades: the latest, by John London, dates back to 2011, but one can profitably consult, in addition, the list regarding the *Iliad* compiled by Erbse (1969, with *Addenda et corrigenda* in 1988),⁹ the one by Pontani for the *Odyssey* (2005), and the comprehensive inventory by Messeri Savorelli and Pintaudi

⁷ On the blending of the glossographic (and paraphrastic) component and philological-exegetical materials, see e.g. Montanari 1995a, p. 84.

⁸ The lemmatization in paradigmatic forms, which is more common in lexica, is also to be seen in glossaries, although it may not be systematically applied. See Bossi & Tosi 1979–1980, pp. 8–13; Tosi 1988, pp. 94–100; Esposito 2009, p. 265.

⁹ Erbse 1969 recorded in the *Praefatio* (pp. XXXIV–XLIV) 14 papyri preserving *Homerica* (not only commentaries) and edited them at the beginning of the book of the *Iliad* to which each one referred (see *infra*). In the *Addenda et corrigenda* of Erbse 1988 (pp. 265–66, 284–86 and 300–02), the commentaries P. Daris and P. Wash. Univ. 63 were added respectively as n. IIa and VIIa, whereas P. Lond. Lit. 142 (originally Pap. VII Erbse; LDAB 2757; MP³ 1185.300) was removed, since it had been recognized in the meantime as a fragment of *Mythographus Homericus* and not of a generic *hypomnema* (this kind of material, as one of the elements that came together into the stream of D-scholia, is excluded from Erbse's edition: for a discussion of the classes of the Iliadic scholia see *infra* and Montana's paper in this volume, which also offers a discussion of Erbse's criteria); furthermore, P. Mich. inv. 3688 (originally Pap. XIV Erbse) was left out as well, for the reasons we will explain *infra*.

(2002), which essentially derives from a previous survey carried out by Lunden in 2001 and explicitly states the points where it diverges from the by then out-of-date collection by Marina Del Fabbro (1979).¹⁰ The data which can be gathered in this way must be checked and updated by research within the online papyrus catalogues: the 'Leuven Database of Ancient Books' (LDAB), the 'Mertens-Pack³' (MP³) and the 'Catalogue of Paraliterary Papyri' (CPP).¹¹ However, at times the terminological ambiguity discussed above affects these specialized inventories as well, causing some difficulties in distinguishing the *hypomnemata* from other materials.¹² Another problem is that the generic label 'commentary' or '*hypomnema*' is current also for a first-level definition of fragments of the *Mythographus Homericus*, which however is a very specific product, as mentioned earlier, and has to be kept separate from the group of generic commentaries.¹³

¹⁰ Erbse 1969, pp. XXXIV–XLII (*Addenda et corrigenda*: Erbse 1988, pp. 265–66, 284–86, 300–02); Del Fabbro 1979, p. 129; Lunden 2001, p. 827 n. 5; Messeri Savorelli & Pinaudi 2002, p. 39 n. 1; Pontani 2005, pp. 130–36; Lunden 2011. To these can be added the list of *Homerica* in M. West 2001, pp. 130–36, where, however, commentaries are not separated from all other genres of ancient secondary literature on the *Iliad* (moreover the terminology used to identify the various categories is not fully consistent: see *supra*, in the text, and the following note).

¹¹ LDAB: <http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>; MP³: <http://web.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/en/>; CPP: <http://cpp.arts.kuleuven.be/>: latest consultation in September 2016, at the delivery of this paper for the publication; afterwards the CPP has unfortunately become inactive.

¹² To give just a few examples, we can mention P. Ryl. 24, which is a commentary on *Il.* 4.306–16 (and is defined in this manner in CPP), but its content is recorded as 'scholia' both by MP³ and LDAB; the celebrated P. Oxy. 221, which contains a famous commentary on an extensive part of book 21 of the *Iliad*, nevertheless appears as 'scholia' in MP³ and is labelled with the ambiguous expression 'scholiastic commentary' in LDAB (correctly 'commentary [continuous lemmata]' only in CPP); P. Daris s. inv., on *Il.* 4.164–70, is labelled 'scholia' in LDAB (although it is a 'commentary' according to MP³ and CPP), etc. The CPP proves to be the most precise tool, but it is no longer available (see the previous note). West's list of *Homerica* (M. West 2001, pp. 130–36) also shows ambiguities, since it mentions both 'glossaries' and '*scholia minora*' without explaining what is expected to be the difference between the two categories; moreover, it describes as 'scholia' some fragments of the *Mythographus Homericus* (e.g. P. Oxy. III 418: M. West 2001, p. 131), as well as of glossaries/*scholia minora* (e.g. P. Oxy. LVI 3832: M. West 2001, p. 131), and even of commentaries (e.g. P. Oxy. VIII 1087: M. West 2001, p. 132).

¹³ See *supra*, n. 1.

By following this path, it has been possible to draw up a schematic overview, as shown in the following tables. This survey is limited to the material linked to the *Iliad*, so that the presentation of the data is not too lengthy and unmanageable, but the methodological considerations that will emerge can be extended to commentaries on the *Odyssey*.¹⁴ The first table contains already published papyri that belong, with a fair degree of certainty, to the genre of the commentary; the second table records texts that have not yet been published but have been announced or are in any case known as possible members of this category (the fact that these papyri have been the object so far only of initial studies makes their character highly uncertain); finally, the third table records a list of fragments whose nature as commentaries or as commentaries on the *Iliad* is fairly questionable; cases in which attribution to the latter typology, though maintained by some scholars, proves particularly dubious or has been refuted are written in smaller type.¹⁵ Within each list, papyri are arranged, as customary, according to the first Homeric line commented upon.

2.1. Published *hypomnemata* to the *Iliad*

	Passages commented upon	Papyri	Chronology
1	<i>Il.</i> 1.56–58?	P. Oxy. LXV 4451 LDAB 2297; MP ³ 1161.13	I ^a
2	<i>Il.</i> 2.751–827	P. Oxy. VIII 1086 (Erbse, Pap. II) LDAB 2287; MP ³ 1173	I ^a
3	<i>Il.</i> 3.59 = 6.333	P. Berol. inv. 9960 (BKT V 1 p. 6 [descr.] = <i>APF</i> 44 [1998], 213–14, n° 2) LDAB 1428; MP ³ 1174	I-II ^p

¹⁴ The number of known ancient *hypomnemata* on the *Odyssey* is about the half of those devoted to the *Iliad*, a fact that is by no means surprising and reflects the same trend which also characterizes the manuscript witnesses of the texts of the poems.

¹⁵ With the exception of P. Cair. Mich. II 4 (which has been edited in 2015), all of these are mentioned, and marked as doubtful, in the list by Messeri and Pintaudi. Lunden 2011 discusses some of these witnesses, but does not list them systematically.

	Passages commented upon	Papyri	Chronology
4	<i>Il.</i> 4.164–70	P. Daris s. inv. (<i>Studi Triestini di antichità</i> , 1975, 463–69) (Erbse, Pap. IIa) LDAB 1718; MP ³ 1174.1	II ^P
5	<i>Il.</i> 4.306–16	P. Ryl. I 24 (Erbse, Pap. III) LDAB 1386; MP ³ 1175	I ^P
6	<i>Il.</i> 4.507–39	P. Laur. inv. III/979 (<i>I papiri omerici</i> , 2012, 273–78) LDAB 143339; MP ³ 1177.010	II–III ^P
7	<i>Il.</i> 5.85 (?); 5.148–96; 5.233–51 (?)	BKT X 12 (P. Berol. inv. 16897) LDAB 154380; MP ³ 1178.01	I ^a
8	<i>Il.</i> 6.236, 252?–285	P. Cair. inv. 60566 (<i>Mélanges Maspero</i> , II, 1937, 148–51, n° 2) (Erbse, Pap. V) LDAB 1545; MP ³ 1184	II ^P
9	<i>Il.</i> 7.75–83	P. Oxy. VIII 1087 (Erbse, Pap. VI) LDAB 2264; MP ³ 1186	I ^P
10	<i>Il.</i> 9.129?–147	P. Wash. Univ. II 63 (Erbse, Pap. VIIa) LDAB 2356; MP ³ 1187.2	II ^a
11	<i>Il.</i> 10.561–68	P. Berol. inv. 17151 (<i>APF</i> 44 [1998], 215–18, n° 4) LDAB 7134; MP ³ 1190.11	II ^P
12	<i>Il.</i> 11.677–754	P. Iand. I 2 = P. Giss. Lit. 2.8 (Erbse, Pap. VIII) LDAB 2273; MP ³ 1194	I ^a
13	<i>Il.</i> 12.91–148; 15.610–61	P. Oxy. LXXVI 5095 LDAB 140295; MP ³ 1194.01	V–VI ^P /VI ^P
14	<i>Il.</i> 14.316–48	P. Mich. inv. 1206 (<i>ZPE</i> 93 [1992], 163–65) LDAB 2078; MP ³ 1198.01	III–IV ^P

	Passages commented upon	Papyri	Chronology
15	<i>Il.</i> 17.4–700	P. Oxy. XXIV 2397 (Erbse, Pap. X) LDAB 1397; MP ³ 1201	II ^P
16	<i>Il.</i> 19.347–416	P. Oxy. LXV 4452 LDAB 1692; MP ³ 1203.01	II ^P
17	<i>Il.</i> 21.1–516?	P. Oxy. II 221 (Erbse, Pap. XII) LDAB 1631; MP ³ 1205	II ^P

2.2. Unpublished *hypomnemata* (?) to the *Iliad*

	Passages commented upon (?)	Papyri	Chronology
1	<i>Il.</i> 5.576–97	P. Oxy. inv. 32 4b.89 B(1–2)	?
2	<i>Il.</i> 23.2–141	P. Oxy. inv. 12 1B.133/B(a) (Messeri Savorelli & Pintaudi 2002, p. 39 n. 1) Trismegistos 68611; West 2001 h142	II-III ^P
3	<i>Il.</i> 23.297–99	P. Oxy. inv. 37 4b.103/B(2–3) e	?
4	?	P. Oxy. inv. 105/40 (d)	?

2.3. *Dubia*

	Passages commented upon (?)	Papyri	Chronology
1	<i>Il.</i> 1.202?	P. Cair. Mich. II 4 LDAB 382544	II ^P
2	<i>Il.</i> 2.101–09	P. Hamb. II 136 LDAB 2368; MP ³ 1170.3	III ^a
3	<i>Il.</i> 14	P. Mil. Vogl. I 19 (Erbse, Pap. IX) LDAB 242; MP ³ 1197	II ^P
4	<i>Il.</i> 20.144–52	P. Nicole inv. 72 (<i>RPb</i> 17 [1893] 109–15, <i>MH</i> 56 [1999], 222–37) LDAB 1586; MP ³ 1204	II ^P

	Passages commented upon (?)	Papyri	Chronology
5	<i>Il.</i> 24.753 / Callimachus fr. 18.8 Pfeiffer / glossary?	P. Mich. inv. 3688 (<i>ZPE</i> 4 [1969], 23–30) (Erbse, Pap. XIV) LDAB 4763; MP ³ 0201.1	II ^P
6	<i>Il.</i> or <i>Od.</i> ?	P. Aberd. 119 LDAB 1741; MP ³ 1226	II-III ^P
7	<i>Il.</i> or <i>Od.</i> ?	P. Fay. Coles 2 LDAB 1842; MP ³ 1227.1	II-III ^P
8	<i>Il.</i> or <i>Od.</i> ?	P. Med. inv. 71.82 (<i>Aegyptus</i> 52 [1972] 89–90) LDAB 4775; MP ³ 1227.2	I ^a
9	<i>Il.</i> or <i>Od.</i> ?	P. Turner 12 (= P. Berol. inv. 11907) LDAB 1522; MP ³ 2494.3	II ^P

Seventeen fragments have been published so far as certain remains of ancient *hypomnemata* to the *Iliad*. Two of these fragments (P. Oxy. 1086 and 4451) most likely belonged originally to one and the same commentary, since the editor of P. Oxy. 4451 believes that they can be attributed to the same hand. Moreover, so far as can be inferred from the conditions of P. Oxy. 4451, which is a very small scrap, the text contained therein displays a manner of presentation and characteristics of content that are identical to what we find in P. Oxy. 1086.¹⁶ Given that the two do not refer to the same Iliadic book and that the commentary to book 2 must have been very long,¹⁷ as can be argued from an estimate based on what is preserved in P. Oxy. 1086, the two Oxyrhynchus papyri plausibly belonged to two separate rolls of the same commentary.¹⁸

If we take an overall look at these witnesses, the picture which emerges is that of a non-homogeneous genre, with regard both to form and content. Of course, caution should be exercised as

¹⁶ Haslam 1998a, pp. 27–28.

¹⁷ Over 5 m according to Haslam 1998a, p. 28.

¹⁸ Haslam 1998a, p. 28. On this problem, cf. Lundon 1998–1999 and 2011, p. 173.

the scantiness and fortuity of the documentation may improperly emphasize this impression, according to a methodological *caveat* which concerns every study based on papyri.

First of all, some words on chronology. Before the publication of P. Oxy. 5095,¹⁹ which is a very special witness from many points of view (as we will see), the time span covered by the Iliadic commentaries ranged from the 2nd century BC to a period between the 3rd and the 4th centuries AD, with a notable concentration in the 2nd century AD (an element that is entirely consistent with the general trend of papyri findings). P. Oxy. 5095 is the only example dating back to the 5th/6th or the 6th-7th centuries AD.²⁰

The lack of uniformity mentioned earlier can be highlighted in a survey that focuses, firstly, on the aspect of the fragments. Some are written in a cursive-like script (the best examples are P. Daris and P. Oxy. 1086), but more formal handwriting is also attested (for instance P. Iand. 2 has been copied in a decorated vertical literary script which is strictly bilinear and very accurate, and P. Oxy. 5095 is a beautiful example of Alexandrian majuscule). As regards the bookform, all the fragments can be identified as parts of rolls, with the exception of P. Oxy. 5095, which is to be traced back to a codex. A couple of the roll fragments, P. Iand. 2 and BKT X 12, are opisthographs, i.e. the text of the commentary, written on the *recto*, continues on the *verso*: in P. Iand. 2 the hand on the *verso*, which is much less formal in comparison with the one responsible for the *recto*, overlaid the commentary on a pre-existent unidentified cursive text, perhaps – as John Lundon suggests – because the final part of the roll had torn away and the owner solved the problem by copying its content on the back of the surviving portion;²¹ BKT X 12 has four damaged lines on the *verso*, written by the

¹⁹ Montanari 2011; a preliminary presentation of the papyrus was given in Montanari 2009.

²⁰ Chronology is established on palaeographical bases: the period between 5th and 6th centuries AD is supported by Guido Bastianini, the first half of the 6th by Daniela Colomo: cf. Montanari 2011, p. 178. The hypothesis of a date around the end of the 6th century or beginning of the 7th has been proposed by Porro 2014, p. 204 n. 27.

²¹ Lundon 2011, p. 167 n. 46, who however takes into consideration the alternative hypothesis that the end of the roll had been reached before the end of the text of the commentary and that the missing part of the *hypochnema* had been added on the back, for some mysterious reason by a different hand.

same hand as on the *recto*, but upside down, which may record an additional note of the commentary.²²

The same unevenness affects the layout of these texts: some display several of the formal devices used to organize the material which was mentioned above, whereas other are not carefully arranged. Just to give a few examples, one finds the following: there may be pieces with lemmata in *ekthesis* (P. Wash. Univ. 63; BKT X 12, which also makes use of *paragraphoi*) and separated from the relevant comment by a blank space (P. Iand. 2, where, since the left-hand part of the column is not preserved, the position in *ekthesis* of the lemmata is inferred from the relative position of the surviving letters), or underlined by a *diple obelismene* (P. Oxy. 221). Now and then, one may find fragments whose structure is defined on the basis of blank spaces (P. Oxy. 1086, which displays blank spaces between the end of a lemma and the beginning of the *interpretamentum*, as well as before the beginning of a new lemma); alternatively, there may also be pieces where the elements of the *hypomnema* are isolated from each other by means of middle points (P. Oxy. 5095, with middle points before and after a lemma).²³ The best example of the opposite situation is P. Oxy. 4452, which has been recognized as a rather careless copy on account of other aspects as well and, as stated by its first editor, shows an arrangement of the material that is ‘so unfussy to the point of minimalism’: there is no *ekthesis*, only very short blank spaces divide entries (in conjunction with the *paragraphos*), nothing demarcates a comment from the subsequent lemma.²⁴

As far as the content is concerned, the surviving fragments display examples both of systematic and detailed works, with

²² They may refer to *Il.* 5.85, whose quotation has been recognized by M. Haslam in the first of the four lines in question: Sarischouli 2012, pp. 82 and 103–04.

²³ A more detailed list can include: blank spaces in P. Oxy. 4451 and 1086, which probably belonged to the same commentary as the previous one (as stated *supra*), P. Berol. inv. 9960, P. Ryl. 24, P. Wash. Univ. 63, and P. Mich. inv. 1206; lemmata in *ekthesis* and *paragraphoi* in P. Daris s. inv., P. Wash. Univ. 63, P. Oxy. 221; *paragraphoi* in P. Oxy. 1086, P. Laur. inv. III/979, P. Oxy. 1087; lemmata in *ekthesis* followed by blank spaces in P. Berol. inv. 16897, P. Iand. 2; *diple* indicating new lemmata in P. Cair. inv. 60566; *dicola* in P. Oxy. 1087; middle points in P. Oxy. 5095.

²⁴ Haslam 1998b, p. 30.

a very high percentage of Iliadic text commented upon,²⁵ and more selective collections of notes.²⁶ It should be borne in mind, in connection with the latter characteristic, that at least starting from the 2nd century AD shortened versions of more extensive *hypomnemata* were produced, as a first step of the long process of condensation which, by making *excerpta* from various sources and gathering them together, led to the medieval scholia.

Before addressing the crucial question of the comparison and relationship between the material of ancient *hypomnemata* and medieval scholia, we should consider the group of uncertain fragments (see *supra*, list n. 3), which offers an opportunity to observe some practical applications of the general method described earlier for distinguishing commentaries from other categories of secondary literature.

What remains of the recently edited P. Cair. Mich. II 4 is so scanty that prudence is a must:²⁷ with the exception of scattered letters, only two sequences, on consecutive lines, can be read: ὀχὴν τροφῇν (l. 3) and αἰγιόχοιο Διό[c (l. 4). As Cornelia Römer shows, the whole could tentatively be connected with an epic context, specifically with *Il.* 1.202, where the medieval scholia explain the epithet of Zeus (in the genitive form) as ‘he who takes his nourishment (ὀχὴν) from the goat’, all the more so since the *Lexicon* of Apollonius Sophista, recording the same explanation under the lemma αἰγίλοχος, adds that ὀχὴ means τροφή.²⁸ Nevertheless, the order of concepts in the papyrus is disturbing and the

²⁵ Cf. P. Oxy. 1086, 4452, and 221, which, though not exhaustive, have a comprehensive scope, with lemmata drawn from almost every line of the related part of the *Iliad*.

²⁶ Cf. e.g. BKT X 12, P. Iand. 2, P. Oxy. 5095, P. Mich. inv. 1206.

²⁷ Written on the *verso* of a piece which could be identified as ‘a historical, a pseudo-historical or a pure fictional piece of literature’ (Römer in El-Maghrabi & Römer 2015, p. 14), this fragment is part of the ‘Archive of Socrates’, a tax collector who served in Karanis during the 2nd century AD, and fits well with the image of this ambitious officer, who ‘wanted to appear as an educated person in the Greek tradition’ (El-Maghrabi & Römer 2015, p. XIII), as can be inferred from the other finds in his archive. In the meantime I have devoted a specific study to this topic: see Pagani 2019.

²⁸ *Sch. ex. Il.* 1.202: αἰγιόχοιο: τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰγὸς ὀχὴν λαβόντος· ὅθεν καὶ Ζεὺς τῇ Ἀμαλθείᾳ τὸ κέρας δίδωσι πάσης τροφῆς ποριστικὸν τυγχάνων. **Ab**(BCE³)**T**; Ap. S. p. 18.5–7 Bekker: αἰγίλοχος αἰγιουῶχος· αἰγίς γὰρ ὄπλον τοῦ Διός, οὐπὲρ ἐστὶν ἐπίθετον. οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι κακῶς, ὡς αἰγὸς ὀχὴν, τουτέστι τροφήν, εἰληφότος.

layout seems rather to suggest that ὀχὴν is a lemma, explained by τροφή[ν and perhaps somehow expanded with the mention of the Homeric formula αἰγιόχοιο Διό[c. If so, a glossary could turn out to be more plausible than a commentary, but, since ὀχὴ is not a Homeric word, this author could in any case hardly be the object of the putative glossary. The real nature of this frustule remains at present problematic.²⁹

In P. Hamb. 136 the presence of a sequence that could be interpreted as a lemma followed by a prose description induced the first editors to classify it as ‘Hypomnema zu Homer?’, with a question mark.³⁰ However, an anthology, a paraphrase, a treatise or a summary were subsequently taken into consideration,³¹ to the point that now a prudent definition can be no more than a mere description of its content: ‘prose text of uncertain nature, following a citation of *Iliad* 2.101–109’, as recorded in CPP.

The hypomnematic nature of P. Mil. Vogl. 19, which appears with a mark of doubt in the list by Messeri and Pintaudi, is even less probable:³² this very small scrap contains no more than the *subscriptio* of a work by Apollodorus of Athens regarding book 14 of the *Iliad*, whose title is quoted as ζητήματα γραμματικά, a fact that should suggest a treatise of grammatical subject, in the form of *zetemata/lyseis*, rather than a proper commentary.

P. Nicole inv. 72 shows no lemma and contains about 40 lines, most of which are heavily damaged, with notes on the landscape outside the city of Troy (specifically on the aim of the so-called Heracles’ rampart and the morphology of the hill known as Callicolone, apparently placed in connection with the duel between Hector and Achilles). The absence of lemmata and the monographic nature of the subject discussed led scholars to believe it was a *syngramma* rather than a commentary.³³ Nevertheless,

²⁹ It is recorded in LDAB with the dubitative expression of the *editor princeps*: ‘commentary on Homerus, Ilias (verso)?’; it is still absent in MP³ and CPP.

³⁰ Collective edition in *Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek*, II, Hamburg 1954.

³¹ S. West 1967, pp. 38–39; Erbse 1969, pp. XLIII–XLIV; Nachtergaele 1971, pp. 344–49; van Rossum-Steenbeek 1997, esp. pp. 993–94; Lundon 2011, p. 164.

³² Messeri Savorelli & Pintaudi 2002, p. 39 n. 1.

³³ Cf. Montanari 2012b, p. 12 n. 36. Trachsel & Schubert 1999, who publish a new edition of the papyrus with translation and thorough comments, do not discuss the topic of the genre.

on the one hand the portion of text that survives is limited and very discontinuous (in these conditions the lack of lemmata, an *argumentum e silentio* by nature, becomes particularly dangerous); on the other hand, the occasion of the disquisition could well have been the need for commenting upon the passage in book 20 where Poseidon is said to lead Hera towards Heracles' rampart while the rival gods sat down on the Callicolone (the connection of such a topic with Hector's flight – which likewise takes place on the land outside the walls of Troy – would be easy to understand). Admittedly, we have no evidence for positively affirming that P. Nicole was part of a *hypomnema*, but in this case the possibility should be left open (in effect both CPP and MP³ record P. Nicole as a 'commentary'; LDAB prefers this prudent description: 'topography of Troy, with commentary on Ilias 020.144–150').

P. Mich. inv. 3688 offers a different example. As in P. Nicole, it preserves no trace of lemma or of the formal devices used in commentaries; nevertheless the hypothesis that it might be a glossary rather than a commentary has been suggested only as a minority-proposal.³⁴ Taking it for granted that it is a *hypomnema*, the next problem is to determine the literary work forming the object of the commentary. The fragment contains only the central section of about thirty lines, where a discussion of the adjective ἀμιχθαλέσσα is involved, with two mentions of the name of the poet Callimachus. The uncertainty between a commentary on the *Iliad* (in this case 24.753 would be the relevant passage) quoting Callimachus, or a proper commentary on Callimachus' *Aitia* (fr. 18.8 Pfeiffer) was left open in the *editio princeps* of the papyrus and at first also by Erbse.³⁵ The question is made more complicated by the fact that the medieval scholia referring to *Il.* 24.753 and dealing with the meaning of the adjective quote the Callima-

³⁴ Lloyd-Jones, *ap.* Henrichs 1969, p. 24. By contrast, in Lloyd-Jones & Parsons 1983, p. 96 (SH 251), one finds the statement: 'commentarium potius quam lexicon habemus' (cf. p. 95: '(b) = 251 commentarius est').

³⁵ Henrichs 1969, esp. p. 24: 'Ob der Text des Michigan-Papyrus ein Kommentar zu *Il.* 24.753 ist, in dem wie im Schol. AT Kallimachos zitiert wird, oder ob er ein regelrechter Kommentar zu Kallimachos ist, läßt sich nicht entscheiden'; Erbse 1969, p. XLIII and 1971, p. 547. Cf. Lundon 2011, p. 166.

chean passage as a parallel,³⁶ apparently reinforcing the idea that P. Mich. inv. 3688 may be a Homeric commentary citing Callimachus. Nevertheless, it has been convincingly argued, first and foremost by Erbse, that the content seems to imply that the target of this erudite work was Callimachus, not the *Iliad*,³⁷ because just before the discussion on ἀμιχθαλόεσσα there is a sort of paraphrase of the lines of the *Aitia* which immediately precede it (fr. 18.6–8, ll. 1–4), and afterwards the defended explanation is set in connection with another Callimachean example of use of this adjective (fr. 17.8–10, ll. 11–16).³⁸

As far as P. Aberd. 119 is concerned, this is a small scrap, where the names of Odysseus and Athena can be read. On this feeble basis its first editor suspected that it could represent the remains of a *hypomnema* to Homer (leaving it undecided, of course, as to whether it concerns the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*).³⁹ Although the opinion of Turner in the catalogue of the Aberdeen papyri is much more prudent,⁴⁰ the idea in favour of the *hypomnema* could be supported, according to Lundon, by the presence of a blank space between two lines of this fragment, since this element could suggest a structural subdivision, which is typical of commentaries (but Lundon himself concedes that generally spaces are to be found in *hypomnemata within a line*, not *between lines*). Uncertain

³⁶ *Sch. ex. Il.* 24.753a: ἀμιχθαλόεσσαν: κατὰ Κυπρίους εὐδαίμονα. οἱ δὲ πετρώδη καὶ τὰ κύκλω ἀπόκρημνον. **b**(BCE⁴)**T** διὸ οὐκ ἐπιμίγνυσθαι τῇ γῇ θάλασσαν. **T** οἱ δὲ ἄμικτον διὰ τὸ ἐκ θαλάσσης δυσπρόσιτον καὶ τὴν τραχύτητα. **b**(BCE⁴)**T** ἢ ἄμικτον Τρωσὶ διὰ τὸ Εὐνέω εἶναι (cf. *Il.* 7.468). **T** οἱ δὲ ὀμιχλώδη καὶ ἀπροόρατον τοῖς πλέουσι **b**(BCE⁴)**T** διὰ τὰ ἐργαστήρια Ἡφαίστου. ‘εἴ κεν ἀμιχθαλόεσσαν ἀπ’ ἡέρα νηὸς ἐλάσσης’ (Call. fr. 18.8). **T. Sch. D Il. 24.753a: ἀμιχθαλόεσσαν: ἦτοι ἀπρόσμικτον, ἢ ῥαδίως οὐ μίγνυται ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης, καθὼ ἀλλίμενός ἐστιν. ἢ διὰ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἀγρίους καὶ θηριώδεις ὁ ληστικὸν βίον ἐπανηρημένους. ἔνιοι δὲ οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὀμιχλώδη ἀπέδοσαν. **A**.**

³⁷ Erbse 1977, p. 509; Lloyd-Jones & Parsons 1983, p. 96 (‘in ipsum Callimachum commentarium fuisse, non e.g. in Hom. Ω 753, e vv. 1–4, 13–16 iudices’); Harder 2012, pp. 65 and 154–55; LDAB (‘Aetia, commentary’); MP³ (‘Commentaire à Callimachus, *Aetia* I’) (not present in CPP).

³⁸ Cf. PLG Carlini 21 (P. Ticinensis inv. 1) (LDAB 497; MP³ 234.100) II^p, quoting a fragment of Callimachus (fr. 631 Pfeiffer) also mentioned by *Sch. ex. Il.* 16.235, which is traditionally considered a commentary on Callimachus (even though the remains are too scanty to gain a well-founded idea of the content): Montanari 1976; Lloyd-Jones & Parsons 1983, pp. 137–38 (SH 297).

³⁹ Winstedt 1907, p. 261.

⁴⁰ Turner 1939.

as it may be, the hypothesis that P. Aberd. 119 preserves traces of a Homeric commentary is accepted *dubitanter* in the specialized catalogues.⁴¹

The nature of P. Fay. Coles 2 is likewise ambiguous. The mention of an Aristarchus (l. 21 and perhaps l. 31), of the participle ἀκούων (l. 31) referring to the name tentatively recovered as ὁ Ἀρ[ίσταρχος] (a common expression introducing the explanation of the meaning of a word or a passage according to an ancient scholar) and of the sequence διορθω[, a form of διόρθωσις or διορθώ (the technical terms designating the philological work on a text) could suggest an erudite genre, although not necessarily in form of the *hypomnema*.⁴² On the other hand, the fact that the Aristarchus in question might be not the scholar of Samothrace, but the astronomer of Samos could favour the idea of an astronomical work,⁴³ but would not be *per se* evidence against the hypothesis of a commentary, since we have at least one example of a piece, which is certainly a Homeric *hypomnema*, containing an astronomical discussion and quoting Aristarchus of Samos.⁴⁴

Likewise, we have no element to turn the scales in favour of one or the opposite solutions in the case of P. Med. inv. 71.82. This contains an erudite discussion about Mount Olympus which could conceivably be part of a *hypomnema*, all the more so when one considers that a certain number of epithets applied to the mountain in the *Iliad* are mentioned; moreover, there are technical terms typical of exegetical practice, as well as blank spaces and *paragraphoi*. Nevertheless, the absence of lemmata and the monographic character of the discussion seem to testify in favour of a *syngamma* rather than a commentary.⁴⁵

⁴¹ 'Commentary (?)' in LDAB, 'Commentaire homérique (?)' in MP³, 'uncertain (commentary?)' and 'possibly fragment of a commentary on Homer' in CPP.

⁴² Thus, in contrast, Lunden 2011, pp. 162–63. The catalogues state: 'commentary on Homer (?)' LDAB; 'Homérica, astronomie (?) Hesiodus (?)' MP³; 'uncertain (commentary?)' CPP. The first editor (Coles 1970, no. 2, pp. 248–51, esp. 248) labelled it as 'Prose fragment', taking into consideration the hypothesis of a commentary, possibly on Homer, or an astronomical work.

⁴³ Coles 1970, p. 249.

⁴⁴ P. Oxy. LIII 3710, a commentary on *Od.* 20.103–251.

⁴⁵ Lunden 2011, p. 163. In the catalogues one finds: 'discussion on Olympus (or commentary on Homer?)' LDAB; 'Homérica, commentaire?' MP³; 'learned discussion' and 'Homérica (?), mythology' in CPP. The first edition (Daris 1972,

With regard to P. Turner 12, on the other hand, there seems to be more reason for exclusion than inclusion in the group of Homeric commentaries. It was assigned to this category by its first editor on the basis of the presence, in the text, of a marginal sign, which has been interpreted as an abbreviation for $\pi\omicron(\iota\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma)$.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, while this kind of indication (provided that the reading of the papyrus text is correct) does appear in commentaries and, more generally, in other works of exegetical-erudite character,⁴⁷ in such cases it is found within the explanation as a tool to expedite the scribe's work, not in the margin as a mark indicating a lemma (which is normally emphasized in other ways, as mentioned earlier).⁴⁸ It remains problematic to state what this abbreviation could mean, after excluding the option of $\pi\omicron(\iota\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma)$;⁴⁹ it is clear, however, that the only possible connection with the genre of the *hypomnema* vanishes, since no other evidence, either content-related, or formal or terminological, can be identified.⁵⁰

3. *The Relationship Between hypomnemata and scholia*

It has been justifiably argued that *hypomnemata* and *scholia* represent the two extremities of the evolution undergone by one of

no. 7, pp. 89–90) left the question undecided; similarly Funghi 1983, p. 16 spoke of a *syngramma* or a *hypomnema*, although she prudently highlighted, in favour of the latter, the presence of blank spaces and *paragraphoi*, as well as the possibility that an $\omicron[\tau]$ which comes after a blank space could be the beginning of an *interpretamentum* ($\omicron\tau\iota$...).

⁴⁶ Müller 1981.

⁴⁷ In papyri carrying the Homeric text, this abbreviation can be found near the lines as one of the indications of the *personae loquentes*, i.e. the characters that are talking from time to time: the label $\pi\omicron(\iota\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma)$ marks the narrative parts: Montanari 1983, p. 22.

⁴⁸ Montanari 1983, esp. p. 22.

⁴⁹ The idea of a stichometric sign, recording the number of lines copied up to that point (Montanari 1983, p. 23) is rejected by Lundon 2011, p. 162 n. 20.

⁵⁰ Cf. Montanari 1983, p. 23, who suggests that at least the passage of ll. 6–8 could refer to the introduction of innovations into the traditional religion, without venturing to assert that this was the overall subject matter of the whole work. The fragment was not recorded in CPP. On the other hand, both options are proposed in LDAB ('commentary on Homer or religious treatise [?]') and MP³ ('Religion [introduction d'innovations dans les croyances et les usages traditionnels concernant les dieux et la religion (Montanari)] ou commentaire homérique [ed. pr.]?').

the characteristic forms of the erudite activity of ancient scholars.⁵¹ Ancient *hypomnemata*, written in rolls separate from those containing the literary work commented upon, are one of the sources which, excerpted and conflated together, generated the set of multifarious notes placed beside the literary work in the margins of the medieval manuscripts, as described in the contribution by Fausto Montana in this volume: thus, *in a sense* we could maintain that the *hypomnemata* were the ancestors of the scholia.

An exercise we cannot elude when dealing with a fragment of an ancient commentary is a comparison between its exegetical material and that offered by the medieval scholia on the same literary passages. This operation can yield useful information on both products and can shed some light on the history of transmission of certain streams of the erudite tradition.

What emerges from the comparison is often the most obvious result, namely that in a more ancient phase of a long process of selection the material was richer than at later stages. A glaring example is P. Oxy. 4452, which preserves remains of a commentary to *Iliad* 19 of comprehensive scope, with lemmata practically verse by verse; it records many opinions and positions of previous grammarians, often quoted by name, and presents parallelisms with the corresponding medieval scholia. The difference between the two is that the *hypomnema* turns out to be much more substantial, regarding both number and extent of the annotations and the attribution of these annotations to *auctoritates*, many of whom do not appear in the scholia at all (the papyrus mentions, among others, Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, Aristarchus, and Callistratus). But this is not all: in a passage of the *Iliad* for which the scholiastic tradition preserves no trace of discussion or problems (19.351), the papyrus is our sole witness for the existence of five 'additional' lines that it seems to record as a long lemma, which is followed by the annotation that this textual arrangement was present in an ancient edition of Homer, the *ekdosis Massaliotike*, and was probably also followed by a report on a discussion on this subject among

⁵¹ Arrighetti 1977, esp. p. 49.

ancient scholars (the text is heavily damaged and the meaning is far from clear and certain).⁵²

Nevertheless, since the scholia are the result of a process of conflation of data *from different sources*, it is hardly surprising to find, not infrequently, that a commentary may have at the same time something more and something less in comparison with the corresponding scholia. The surplus in the *hypomnema* can be explained as information that has been lost during the process of digesting and abridgment which led to the scholia, while the missing elements are likely to be identified as material that has come into the scholia from a source distinct from the stream of the *hypomnema* under examination.

We can go a step further with some considerations on the *typology* of contents recognizable in the *hypomnemata*. The different currents and modes of approach to the literary text in antiquity are reflected in this typology, for which the classes of medieval scholia constitute an inescapable term of comparison.⁵³ Three classes of scholia to the *Iliad* have been identified on the basis of content-related elements: D-scholia, VMK-scholia, and *scholia exegetica*. Reducing the explanation to essentials and thereby simplifying a very intricate picture, where the relationships are far from univocal and the osmosis of material among genres is the standard situation, it can be stated that D-scholia have their ancestors in the so-called *scholia minora* (better defined as ‘glossaries’) with regard to the glossographical component, and in the *Mythographus Homericus* as far as mythographic narratives are concerned, while elements that are characteristic of the remaining two classes are to be found in the *hypomnemata*. A remarkable example is P. Oxy. 1086, a large fragment of an extended commentary on the *Iliad*, perhaps originally in more than one roll, as suggested by Haslam.⁵⁴ It preserves part of three columns in which not only does the name of Aristarchus of Samothrace recur several times,

⁵² I do not present here an extensive account of the possible scenarios opened up by the presence of these lines as a lemma: for a discussion on this subject, see Pagani & Perrone 2012, pp. 106–07. For a new proposal of text reconstruction see Meliàdò 2018.

⁵³ A detailed discussion of this subject can be found in the article by F. Montana, in this volume.

⁵⁴ See *supra*, p. 342.

but there are also references to his critical signs, which at times are prefixed to the lemmata as well. Moreover in what is still readable of this commentary, exegetical practices and approaches that are typical of Aristarchus are pervasive, to the point that John Landon suggested that this commentary very likely derived from a unitary source and that this source could be identified with the *hypomnemata* by Aristarchus himself or with his lectures.⁵⁵ More prudent positions are probably advisable,⁵⁶ but it still remains true that this commentary is a priceless witness of the Aristarchean philological activity on Homer, all the more so when we consider that it precedes in time, albeit only minimally, the work of Aristonicus and Didymus,⁵⁷ i.e. the intermediaries through whom the positions of Aristarchus came into the *Viermännerkommentar* and thence into the medieval scholia (VMK-class).⁵⁸

On the other side, as regards the tradition that subsequently converged into the class of the *scholia exegetica*, it is imperative to mention first of all the celebrated P. Oxy. 221. This is the most extended fragment of Homeric commentary that is known at present and has traditionally been assigned to a grammarian called Ammonius, on the basis of an annotation jotted down between columns 10 and 11. The meaning of the annotation has been much debated but it is generally understood as a *subscriptio*, i.e. the record of the compiler or the reviser of the commentary.⁵⁹ The learned notes, which concern *Iliad* 21, have a comprehensive

⁵⁵ Landon 2001, 2002 and 2011, p. 174. Cf. Hunt 1911, p. 78: 'The anonymous commentator is to be regarded as a representative of the Aristarchean school'.

⁵⁶ The presence itself of mentions of Aristarchus in the third person opens the possibility that the commentary of P. Oxy. 1086 is a compilation derived from more than one source: thus in Landon 2001, p. 839 n. 46.

⁵⁷ P. Oxy. 1086 dates back to the middle of the 1st century BC, whereas the activity of Aristonicus and Didymus is to be regarded as taking place under Augustus: cf. Hunt 1911, p. 78: 'the papyrus must on account of its date be independent alike of Aristonicus and Didymus, who both flourished under Augustus'.

⁵⁸ More precisely the P. Oxy. *hypomnema* displays close agreement with scholia that go back to Aristonicus' treatise explaining the meaning of Aristarchus' critical signs, to the point that the first editor of the papyrus maintained: '[...] upon such writings as this, along with those of the great critic himself, the work of Aristonicus may be taken to have been based' (Hunt 1911, p. 78).

⁵⁹ Cf. Grenfell & Hunt 1899, pp. 54–55; Erbse 1977, p. 97. The annotation reads: Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμωνίου γραμματικός ἐσημειώσαμην ('I, the grammarian Ammonius, son of Ammonius, noted it down').

scope and show remarkable similarities with the scholia of the exegetical class, especially those preserved for a portion of book 21 by the *codex Genavensis*.⁶⁰ As a consequence, it has been suggested that this *hypomnema* could be seen as a sort of collector of the *scholia exegetica* (as a counterpart of P. Oxy. 1086 on the Aristarchean side).⁶¹ Nevertheless it should be borne in mind that this commentary also contains different materials intermingled with elements belonging to the exegetical class. Since such materials should be interpreted as a substantial outcome of the Alexandrian-Aristarchean stream,⁶² this characteristic clearly shows that a contamination among the different streams and approaches had already begun in antiquity.

In effect it was not until the publication, a few years ago, of P. Oxy. 5095, that a *hypomnema* recognizable as a true member of the same current as that represented by the exegetical class in the medieval scholia came to our knowledge.⁶³ This witness likewise displays the unevenness that was described earlier, in comparison with the scholia (additional elements as well as omissions, *ad uerbum* agreements and discrepancies), but it has comments that belong strictly and exclusively to the tradition which constituted the class of the *scholia exegetica*, a unique characteristic so far. Both in the *editio princeps* by Franco Montanari and in a subsequent study by Fausto Montana⁶⁴ it has been convincingly argued that this Oxyrhynchus *hypomnema* could – especially considering its very late date – represent a close cognate of the exegetical scholia in an early phase of the tradition of this class of scholia, or, to

⁶⁰ Erbse 1969, p. LIX speaks of ‘scholia uberrima in Ge ad versus Φ 165–499 [...] servata’. The coincidence suggests that some parts of ‘Ammonius’ commentary’ have somehow become available to the ‘vir doctus’ who wrote this layer of the exegetical apparatus in the *ms. Genavensis*.

⁶¹ London 2011, pp. 175–76.

⁶² We find therein quotations of grammarians (Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, Aristarchus himself, Dionysius Thrax, Aristicus, Didymus), mentions of textual variants and parallel passages, and so on. Cf. Grenfell & Hunt 1899, pp. 55–56: ‘[...] the other two ingredients of Schol. A, Didymus and Aristicus, were known to Ammonius’ (not Herodian and Nicanor, who are later in comparison with the chronology of the commentary).

⁶³ Montanari 2011. Cf. Montanari 2009. From the contribution of Schmidt 2002, esp. p. 174 one can very effectively gain an idea of the picture as it appeared before the publication of P. Oxy. 5095.

⁶⁴ Montanari 2011 (cf. Montanari 2009); Montana 2013.

put it in another way, that it could be a particular version of one of the commentaries that have been assumed by Hartmut Erbse as the sources of the archetype of the exegetical class of scholia (c).

How should the above-described relationship affect the arrangement of the edition of such material? As a starting point, it should be kept in mind that, despite similarities and traditional connections between commentaries and scholia, the two are completely distinct products, dating back to periods very distant from one another. The most correct approach in order to address this partly contrasting situation would seem to be that of editing *hypomnemata* and scholia independently from one another, recording the (more or less) overlapping passages in the apparatus of parallels. While the text of the scholia can be helpful to integrate the lacunae of a commentary, sometimes with a fair degree of likelihood, sometimes as no more than an *exempli gratia* proposal, on the contrary a part of a commentary which is not in the scholia should not be integrated into the scholia themselves, since it may never have been part of the scholiastic *corpus*. Different choices can and have been made: for instance the editor of the scholia to the *Odyssey*, Filippomaria Pontani,⁶⁵ publishes the texts preserved by ancient *Homerica*, including commentaries, within the series of the medieval scholia, interspersed with them depending on the Homeric passage forming the object of the commentary,⁶⁶ thus privileging the practical aim of providing the reader with as much information as possible and reflecting a vision that assigns to the scholia a low degree of textual identity and authoriality. But the approach is different if we embrace a perspective in which the aim of editing a *corpus* of scholia consists in the attempt to recover the earliest stage of the arrangement of the *corpus* in question, as explained in Montana's contribution. According to this perspective, since the extant ancient *hypomnemata* represent examples of the sources that have been excerpted and conflated in order

⁶⁵ Pontani 2007-.

⁶⁶ Pontani 2007-, I p. X; cf. Pontani 2005, pp. 130–31. Some examples (limited to the *hypomnemata*) are to be seen in Pontani 2007-, I p. 71 (*Sch. Od.* 1.103f = P. Oxy. LXV 4453); II p. 5 (*Sch. Od.* 3.1e and 3.2a = P. Oxy. LXXI 4820), 275 (*Sch. Od.* 4.336a = P. Yale II 128), 279 (*Sch. Od.* 4.343b2 = P. Yale II 128), 305 (*Sch. Od.* 4.437g = P. Oxy. XXIX 2888); III p. 80 (*Sch. Od.* 5.275b2 = P. Oxy. XXIX 2888), 81–82 (*Sch. Od.* 5.277d = P. Oxy. XXIX 2888).

to make up the *corpus* of scholia – which implies that they date back to a stage antedating the creation of the *corpus* itself –, they should in principle play no role in the *constitutio textus* of the *corpus* in question.⁶⁷

The editor of the Iliadic scholia, Hartmut Erbse, had these aspects very clear in his mind. After considering whether it was advisable to publish papyrus texts aside the scholia, in order to encourage the comparison between the two, he concluded that it was more appropriate to publish the papyri separately, at the beginning of the book to which each of them referred, and to add a cross reference to the papyrus in the relevant scholia.⁶⁸ This was a decision he made not only for practical reasons, but first and foremost due to his awareness that the remains of ancient commentaries and the Byzantine scholiastic compilations are substantially incommensurable entities.⁶⁹ More generally, Erbse's target was to recover the two archetypes of the scholiastic traditions that he was editing, without modifying their text on external bases, even when

⁶⁷ If an evident mistake is found in the scholia, but there is a correct counterpart in a *hypomnema*, then the question may arise of whether this could imply that the archetype of the scholia similarly had the correct version, which became corrupted in the process of transmission (which in the case of scholia may also involve reworking) or whether the mistake antedates the phase we endeavor to recover in our edition. With regard to such problems, cf. Degani 1984; Tosi 2001; Tosi 2007; Montanari 2010; Montanari 2012a.

⁶⁸ Erbse 1960, pp. 437–38: 'Es wäre nicht unwillkommen, wenn man auch die größeren unter ihnen [*sc.* the papyri] mit dem handschriftlich überlieferten Text konfrontieren könnte. [...] Es scheint mir [...] geboten zu sein, alle Papyrusfragmente [...] an den Anfang des jeweiligen Buches zu stellen und an den zugehörigen Versen auf die vorausgeschickte Edition zu verweisen'; Erbse 1969, p. LXXIV: 'Scholia, quae papyris continentur, ante initium uniuscuiusque libri edidi. [...] E numero scholiorum papyris conservatorum ea, quae aliquam similitudinem ceterorum habent, inter testimonia sub textu collecta semper laudavi, ut lectorem ad editionem papyrorum delegarem'.

⁶⁹ Erbse 1960, pp. 437–38: '[...] man müßte den Text des Papyrus jeweils auf einer Buchseite, den der Handschriften auf der anderen edieren. Auf diese Weise würde jedoch viel wertvoller Platz verschwendet [...]. Die Ausgabe der handschriftlich überlieferten Texte setzt sich das Ziel, zwei byzantinische Schriften [*sc.* the presumed archetypes of the VMK-class and exegetical-class of scholia] zurückzugewinnen, die der Papyri bemüht sich um antike, z. T. hellenistische Originale. Es wird auch aus diesem Grunde zweckmäßig sein, die beiden Textgattungen räumlich voneinander zu trennen'; Erbse 1969, p. LXXIV: 'Sunt enim [*sc.* scholia, quae papyris continentur] reliquiae commentariorum antiquorum, qui, quod ambitum diligentiam dispositionemque attinet, a compilationibus Byzantinis tantopere differunt, ut cum his conferri non possint'.

evident mistakes were present.⁷⁰ Such an approach, as pointed out above, implies ascribing a relatively high level of authoriality to the archetypes⁷¹ (ApH and c in Erbse's stemma, here below), which are thus seen as the artificers of a conscious act of constructing a scholiastic *corpus*.

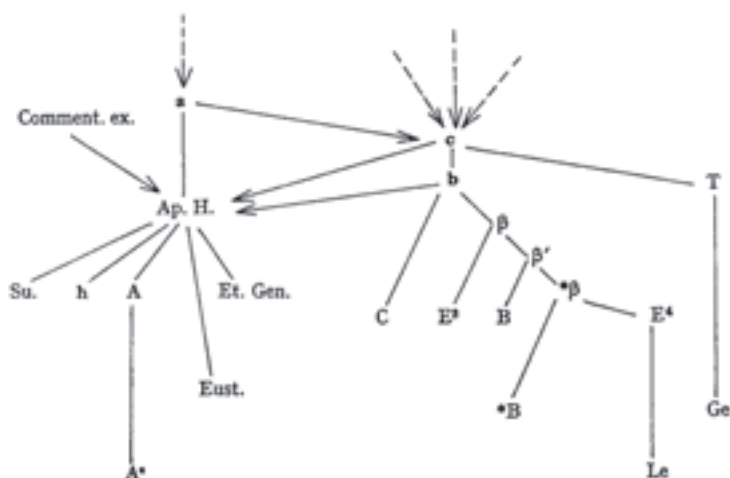


FIG. 2

I share in principle the positions of Erbse, although their application should avoid excessive rigourism and the possibility of exceptions must be taken into consideration.

Returning now to the issue of the *hypomnemata*, it may be possible to proceed somewhat further, when preparing a new edition of the Iliadic scholia,⁷² by taking into consideration that a spe-

⁷⁰ Erbse 1969, p. LXXIII: 'Quorum [*sc.* archetyporum] ubi alter errores vel menda continet, quae quidem oculos meos non fugerint, signum corruptelae posui. [...] veritus sum verba quae in archetypo utroque conficiendo utroque scriba usurpavit, mutare vel pro his illa introducere, quae in fonte quodam adhibita erant'. For Erbse's treatment of the parallel passages, see Erbse 1969, pp. LXXV–LXXVII.

⁷¹ This aspect is appropriately highlighted in Montanari 2010 and Montanari 2012a. It is worth specifying that we are speaking here of a 'relatively high level of authoriality', since scholiography is a paraliterary genre which is *per se* characterized by a low level of authoriality, if compared to other products, as is well explained in the contribution by F. Montana, in this volume.

⁷² See the contribution by F. Montana, in this volume.

cific series has been conceived in recent years to gather together all kinds of secondary literature preserved in papyri, the *Commentaria and lexica Graeca in papyris reperta*.⁷³ This is likely to be the most suitable place in which the edition of the Iliadic papyrus *hypomnemata* can be published. In the edition of the scholia their main role will be that of acting as parallel passages.

4. To Sum up

As can be inferred from this short survey, the methodological problems that affect the edition of papyrus *hypomnemata* can be described as follows.

First of all it is necessary to deal with the difficulties that generally concern all papyrus fragments, arising from the scantiness and fortuity of the documentation. The texts are incomplete, sometimes to the point that their meaning is far from certain; moreover, it is frequently difficult, if not impossible, to gain an idea of the original extent and scope of the whole work to which a fragment belongs. Thus generalizations are dangerous, and conclusions are at times based on *argumenta e silentio*.

More specifically, if such characteristics are considered within the framework of ancient secondary literature, they become so destabilizing that they may undermine the very possibility of ascertaining the precise genre of the erudite product we are dealing with. In contrast, well-founded information on this aspect would be of crucial importance, since each of these genres had a different aim, content, approach and recipient in comparison with all or some of the others.

Finally, it is vital to address the question of the connection with the medieval scholia, which, as pointed out earlier, are the result of a long process of selection and conflation in which ancient secondary literature (with heterogeneous additions as well) metamorphosed into a *corpus* of marginal notes. In the case

⁷³ The publication of this series started in 2004, under the direction of G. Bastianini, M. Haslam, H. Maehler, F. Montanari, C. Römer and with the collaboration of M. Stroppa. So far five volumes have been published (one of which has also benefited from a second edition) at first by Saur, then by De Gruyter. The group of general editors has recently been widened with the inclusion of D. Colomo and F. Montana.

of *hypomnemata*, and specifically *hypomnemata* to the *Iliad*, we may also be able to detect the outlines of the various streams of ancient approaches to the text and compare them with the relevant class of scholia, thereby acquiring important elements regarding the history of the transmission of these erudite traditions. Nevertheless, since *hypomnemata* and scholia, as was made clear above, belong to the same process, being precisely the two extremities of this process, we should on the one hand deal with each category by taking into consideration the other as well, while ensuring, at the same time, that both retain full autonomy, all the more so when we engage in publishing critical editions. The two extremities can interact, but they should not be merged and thus risk losing their distinct identities.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- R. A. Coles (1970), 'New Literary and Sub-Literary Fragments from the Fayum', in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 6, pp. 247–66.
- S. Daris (1972), 'Papiri letterari dell'Università Cattolica di Milano', in *Aegyptus*, 52, pp. 67–118.
- M. G. El-Maghrabi & C. Römer (2015), *Texts from the 'Archive' of Socrates, the Tax Collector at Karanis (P. Cair. Mich. II)*, Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter.
- H. Erbse (1969), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia Vetera)*. I. *Praefationem et scholia ad libros A-Δ continens*, Berlin: De Gruyter.
- H. Erbse (1971), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia Vetera)*. II. *Scholia ad libros E-I continens*, Berlin: De Gruyter.
- H. Erbse (1977), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia Vetera)*. V. *Scholia ad libros Υ-Ω continens*, Berlin: De Gruyter.
- H. Erbse (1988), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia Vetera)*. VII. *Indicem V necnon addenda et corrigenda continens*, Berlin: De Gruyter.
- B. P. Grenfell & A. S. Hunt (1899), '221. Scholia on *Iliad* XXI', in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, II, London: Egypt Exploration Fund, pp. 52–85.

- M. W. Haslam (1998a), '4451. Commentary on *Iliad* I', in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, LXV, London: Egypt Exploration Society, pp. 27–29.
- M. W. Haslam (1998b), '4452. Commentary on *Iliad* XIX', in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, LXV, London: Egypt Exploration Society, pp. 29–44.
- A. Harder (2012), *Callimachus, Aetia. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- A. S. Hunt (1911), '1086. Scholia on *Iliad* II', in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, VIII, London: Egypt Exploration Society, pp. 77–99.
- H. Lloyd-Jones & P. Parsons (1983), *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, indices in hoc Supplementum necnon in Powellii *Collectanea Alexandrina* confecit H.-G. Nesselrath, Berlin, New York: De Gruyter.
- J. Landon (2002), *Un commentario aristarcheo al secondo libro dell'Iliade: POxy VIII 1086 (proecdosis)*, Firenze [s. n.].
- F. Montanari (2011), '5095. Commentary on *Iliad* XII and XV', in D. Colomo & J. Chapa (eds), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, LXXVI, London: Egypt Exploration Society, pp. 177–92.
- W. Müller (1981), *Papyri Greek and Egyptian Edited by Various Hands in Honour of Eric Gardner Turner on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday (P. Turner)*, London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- J. Pagès Cebrián (2007), *Mythographus Homericus: estudi i edició comentada*, Diss. Barcelona.
- F. Pontani (2007-), *Scholia Graeca in Odysseam*, Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.
- P. Sarischouli (2012), '12. Commentary on *Iliad* V', in F. Reiter (ed.), *Literarische Texte der Berliner Papyrussammlung zur Wiedereröffnung des neuen Museums*, Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, pp. 77–104.
- A. Trachsel & P. Schubert (1999), 'Une description de la topographie de Troie dans un papyrus de Genève (Pack² 1204): réédition', in *Museum Helveticum*, 56, pp. 222–37.
- E. G. Turner (1939), *Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri and Ostraca in the Possession of the University of Aberdeen*, Aberdeen: The University Press.
- S. West (1967), *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer*, Köln, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- E. O. Winstedt (1907), 'Some Greek and Latin Papyri in Aberdeen Museum', in *Classical Quarterly*, 1, pp. 257–67.

Secondary Literature

- G. Arrighetti (1977), 'Hypomnemata e scholia: alcuni problemi', in *Museum Philologum Londiniense*, 2, pp. 49–67.
- F. Bossi & R. Tosi (1979–1980), 'Strutture lessicografiche greche', in *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Filologia Greca dell'Università di Padova*, 5, pp. 7–20.
- E. Degani (1984), 'Il nuovo Fozio e la *crux desperationis*', in *Estudios Clásicos*, 26, pp. 111–16.
- M. Del Fabbro (1979), 'Il commentario nella tradizione papiracea', in *Studia Papyrologica*, 18, pp. 69–132.
- H. Erbse (1960), *Beiträge zur Überlieferung der Iliasscholien*, München: Beck.
- E. Esposito (2009), 'Fragments of Greek Lexicography in the Papyri', in F. Montanari & S. Perrone (eds), *Fragments of the Past. Ancient Scholarship and Greek Papyri*, Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, pp. 255–97.
- M. S. Funghi (1983), 'P. Brux. inv. E. 7162 e P. Med. inv. 71.82. Due discussioni su Olimpo', in *La parola del passato*, 38, pp. 11–19.
- A. Gudeman (1921), 'Scholien', in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* II A 1, 625–705.
- A. Henrichs (1969), 'Kallimachos Fr. 17, 8–10 und 18, 8 Pf. (P. Mich. inv. 3688)', in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 4, pp. 23–30.
- J. Lendon (1998–1999), 'La scrittura di P. Oxy. VIII 1086 e P. Oxy. LXV 4451', in *Analecta Papyrologica*, 10–11, pp. 17–32.
- J. Lendon (2001), 'POxy 1086 e Aristarco', in I. Andorlini, G. Bastianini, M. Manfredi & G. Menci (eds), *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia. Firenze, 23–29 agosto 1998*, II, Firenze: Istituto papirologico G. Vitelli, 2001, pp. 827–39.
- J. Lendon (2011), 'Homeric Commentaries on Papyrus: a Survey', in S. Matthaios, F. Montanari & A. Rengakos (eds), *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar. Archetypes, Concepts and Contexts*, Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, pp. 159–79.
- C. Meliadò (2018), 'Sul commentario omerico trādito dal POxy. 4452', in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 205, pp. 59–64.
- G. Messeri Savorelli & R. Pinaudi (2002), 'I lettori dei papiri: dal commento autonomo agli scolii', in V. Fera, G. Ferrau & S. Rizzo (eds), *Talking to the Text. Marginalia from Papyri to Print*, I, Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, pp. 37–57.

- F. Montana (2011), 'The Making of Greek Scholiastic Corpora', in F. Montanari & L. Pagani (eds), *From Scholars to Scholia. Chapters in the History of Ancient Greek Scholarship*, Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, pp. 105–61.
- F. Montana (2013), 'Il commentario all'*Iliade* P. Oxy. LXXXVI 5095 e gli *scholia exegetica*', in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 184, pp. 11–20.
- F. Montanari (1976), 'Un nuovo frammento di commentario a Callimaco', in *Athenaeum*, 54, pp. 139–51.
- F. Montanari (1983), 'Nota al P. Turner 12', in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 50, pp. 21–24.
- F. Montanari (1995a), 'Gli *Homeric* su papiro: per una distinzione di generi', in Id., *Studi di filologia omerica antica*, II, Pisa: Giardini, pp. 69–85.
- F. Montanari (1995b), 'The *Mythographus Homericus*', in J. G. J. Abbenes, S. R. Slings & I. Sluiter (eds), *Greek Literary Theory after Aristotle. A Collection of Papers in Honour of D. M. Schenkeveld*, Amsterdam: VU University Press, pp. 135–72.
- F. Montanari (2002), 'Ancora sul *Mythographus Homericus* (e l'*Odissea*)', in A. Hurst & F. Létoublon (eds), *La mythologie et l'Odyssée. Hommage à Gabriel Germain*, Genève: Droz, pp. 129–44.
- F. Montanari (2009), 'A New Papyrus Commentary on the *Iliad*', in *Trends in Classics* 1, pp. 177–82.
- F. Montanari (2010), 'Errori dell'originale ed errori della tradizione', in I. Putzu, G. Paulis, G. F. Nieddu & P. Cuzzolin (eds), *La morfologia del greco antico tra tipologia e diacronia*, Milano: FrancoAngeli, pp. 31–36.
- F. Montanari (2012a), 'Emendare o non emendare? Errori dell'originale ed errori della tradizione', in G. Bastianini, W. Lapini & M. Tulli (eds), *Harmonia. Scritti di filologia classica in onore di Angelo Casanova*, II, Firenze: Firenze University Press, pp. 605–12.
- F. Montanari (2012b), 'La papirologia omerica: temi, problemi, prospettive', in G. Bastianini & A. Casanova (eds), *I papiri omerici. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Firenze, 9–10 giugno 2011*, Firenze: Istituto papirologico G. Vitelli, pp. 1–16.
- F. Montanari, S. Matthaios & A. Rengakos (eds, 2015), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, I–II, Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- G. Nachtergaele (1971), 'Fragments d'anthologies homériques (P. Strasb. inv. 2374; P. Graec. Vindob. 26740; P. Hamb. II, 136)', in *Chronique d'Égypte*, 46, pp. 344–51.

- L. Pagani (2019), 'Explanation of Homeric Glosses in P. Cair. Mich. II 4 (Socrates archive)?', in G. K. Giannakis, C. Charalambakis, F. Montanari & A. Rengakos (eds), *Studies in Greek Lexicography in Honor of John N. Kazazis*, Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, pp. 291–307.
- L. Pagani & S. Perrone (2012), 'Le *ekdoseis* antiche di Omero nei papiri', in G. Bastianini & A. Casanova (eds), *I papiri omerici. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi: Firenze 9–10 giugno 2011*, Firenze: Istituto papirologico G. Vitelli, pp. 97–124.
- F. Pontani (2005), *Sguardi su Ulisse. La tradizione esegetica greca all'Odissea*, Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.
- A. Porro (2014), 'The Birth of Scholiography: Some Conclusions and Perspectives', in F. Montana & A. Porro (eds), *The Birth of Scholiography. From Types to Texts*, Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, pp. 192–205.
- M. E. van Rossum-Steenbeek (1997), 'The So-Called Homeric Anthologies', in B. Krämer et al. (eds), *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses Berlin, 13.–19.8.1995*, II, Stuttgart, Leipzig: Teubner, pp. 991–92.
- M. E. van Rossum-Steenbeek (1998), *Greek Readers' Digests? Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri*, Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill.
- M. Schmidt (2002), 'The Homer of the Scholia: What is Explained to the Reader?', in F. Montanari & P. Ascheri (eds), *Omero tremila anni dopo. Atti del Congresso, Genova 6–8 luglio 2000*, Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, pp. 159–83.
- R. Tosi (1988), *Studi sulla tradizione indiretta dei classici greci*, Bologna: CLUEB.
- R. Tosi (2001), Review of C. Theodoridis (ed.), *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon. II (E-M)*, Berlin, New York: De Gruyter 1998, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 94, pp. 347–53.
- R. Tosi (2007), 'Lessicografia foziana e riscoperta dei classici', in F. Conca & G. Fiaccadori (ed.), *Bisanzio nell'età dei Macedoni. Forme della produzione letteraria e artistica*, Milano: Cisalpino, pp. 257–66.
- M. West (2001), *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad*, München, Leipzig: K. G. Saur.

Abstract

Parts of ancient commentaries on Homer have been preserved on papyrus fragments and, together with various other materials, they belong to a typology usually defined as *Homerica*, i.e. secondary literature on Homer. Such texts can be divided as follows: commentaries (*hypomnemata*), monographic treatises, glossaries, alphabetical lexica, fragments of the so called *Mythographus Homericus* (a sort of *hypomnema* which was limited to a mythographical subject), paraphrases, summaries. In some cases, the fragmentary condition of these materials makes it difficult to establish beyond any doubt the real nature of a text and therefore to assign it to the most appropriate category of scholarly products. Roughly speaking, in order for a fragment to be characterized as a part of an ancient commentary, it should display the following features: the presence of lemmata (the sections of the Homeric text to which each comment refers), their arrangement according to the sequence of the Homeric text and the use of graphic artifices to distinguish the lemmata from the relevant comments. A survey of the *hypomnemata* to the *Iliad* that are known today is presented, examining their features with regard both to formal aspects and content, and describing the reasons why the attribution to this typological group is uncertain for some exemplars. The relationship between ancient *hypomnemata* and medieval scholia, and its implications for the editing procedure, is also discussed. While *hypomnemata* and scholia have been said to represent the two extremities of the evolution of ancient scholars' erudite activity, they are nevertheless very different products. Accordingly, the critical edition of one type of these materials cannot neglect consideration of the other, but some important *caveats* should be kept in mind.

INDEX CODICVM¹

ALENÇON

Bibl. Mun.

26: 141

144: 250–251

ARRAS

Bibl. Mun.

626: 140

BERN

Burgerbibliothek

167: 317, 326–327

BOLOGNA

Bibl. Univ.

1625: 28–30, 36

BRUXELLES

Bibl. Royale

2916 (863–69): 28, 30–32, 41

CAMBRAI

Bibl. Mun.

693: 73–75, 78, 88

CAMBRIDGE

Trinity College

B.1.36: 132

CITTÀ DEL VATICANO

Bibl. Apost. Vatic.

Barberin. gr. 87: 210, 214

Chisian. R VIII 58: 187–190,
194–195, 199–201

Ottob. lat. 294: 256

Pal. gr. 173: 192

Pal. gr. 385: 168, 173

Pal. lat. 1773: 74, 78, 82–83,
87–88

Regin. gr. 107: 222–225

Regin. lat. 1674: 326–327

Urb. gr. 35: 210, 214, 222–223,
225, 227–228

Urb. gr. 64: 169, 174

Urb. gr. 65: 168, 173

Vat. gr. 225: 189

Vat. gr. 226: 189, 191–192

Vat. gr. 244: 212, 219–227, 235,
239–240

Vat. gr. 276: 169

Vat. gr. 280: 168, 173

Vat. gr. 283: 168, 173

Vat. gr. 1024: 211, 214, 227

Vat. gr. 2254: 169, 174

Vat. lat. 2173: 31

Vat. lat. 3327: 326

¹ This index includes references to manuscripts, even when the manuscript in question is only mentioned as a siglum. The following exceptions apply: sigla in the apparatus of a critical edition, in a table, or in a figure. In these cases, we have not indicated the relevant page numbers here.

EL ESCORIAL

Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo

&.I.14: 71

Σ.II.10: 169

T.II.17: 326–327

Φ.I.14: 222–223

Φ.III.7: 168, 173

Υ.I.1 (294 Andrés): 111–112,
120

Ω.I.12 (513 Andrés): 111–112,
120

ERFURT

Universitäts- und Forschungsbibl.

Amplon. F. 13: 28, 30

(no shelf mark): 52, 54–59

FIRENZE

Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana

Laur. Plut. 32.3: 112, 120

Laur. Plut. 45.14: 326

Laur. Plut. 60.8: 189

Laur. Plut. 72.5: 210, 214, 227

Laur. Plut. 85.6: 192

GRENOBLE

Bibl. Mun.

37: 135

KARLSRUHE

Badische Landesbibl.

Aug. 116: 326

Fragm. Aug. 140: 73–75, 78, 88

Ms. Poet. Fol. 6: 314–319, 326–
327

KLOSTERNEUBURG

Stiftsbibl.

CCI 749: 29–30, 32–38, 41

KÖLN

Dombibliothek

Codex 23: 132

LAON

Bibl. Mun.

73: 135

74: 135, 137

78: 132, 134

LEIDEN

University Library

B.P.L. 52: 326

Vossianus F. 100: 187

LEIPZIG

Universitätsbibl.

1246: 28, 30

1247: 28, 30, 35–36

LONDON

Brit. Libr.

Burney 86 (Townleianus): 105–
106, 111–112, 120

Egerton 1934: 72

Royal 3 E VI: 132

Royal 4 A XVI: 141

Royal 4 C I: 132

LÜBECK

Stadtbibl.

Phil. 2°3: 28, 37

MADRID

Bibl. Nacional

4626: 109

Vitr. 13–1 (olim Tolet. 2–1):
72

Real Acad. de la Historia

80: 72

81: 72

MILANO

Bibl. Ambros.

B 36 inf.: 88

C 126 inf.: 189

L 93 sup.: 210, 214, 228–229,
236

MONTPELLIER

Bibl. de l'école de médecine

H 155: 135, 138, 142, 146, 148

MÜNCHEN

Bayerische Staatsbibl.

Civ. Latinus 6394: 326–327

Clm. 534: 53–58, 60–61

- NAPOLI
Biblioteca Nazionale
 III D 28: 187, 190, 195, 199–201
 Neap. Vindobon. lat. 5: 326–327
- NEW YORK
Pierpont Morgan Libr.
 P.27: 72
- OXFORD
Bodl. Libr.
 Auct. D 1 7 (SC 2629): 132
 Canon. gr. 84: 189
 Clarkianus: 191
 Laud. Gr. 18: 187
 Lyell 1: 132
St. John's College
 111: 141
- PADOVA
Bibl. Univ.
 1472: 28–31, 36
- PARIS
Bibl. de l'Arsenal
 87: 141
Bibl. nat. de France
 Coislin. 157: 222
 Coislin. 167: 222–225
 Coislin. 322: 189–190, 194–196,
 199–201
 Coislin. 330: 211, 214, 216, 220–
 222, 237–238, 240
 Gr. 921: 188
 Gr. 1807: 191–197, 200
 Gr. 1839: 195
 Gr. 1840: 187, 195, 199–201
 Gr. 1843: 211, 214, 228–230,
 241–242
 Gr. 1972: 221–225
 Gr. 2140: 169
 Gr. 2266: 168, 173
 Gr. 2984: 189
 Gr. 2998: 191–192
 Lat. 620: 145
 Lat. 2491: 140
 Lat. 7929: 326–327
- Lat. 11529–11530: 73–75, 78,
 82–83, 85–86, 88
 Lat. 14937: 140
 Lat. 16974: 141
 Suppl. gr. 446: 169
 Suppl. gr. 447: 168, 171, 173,
 176
Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève
 55: 73–75, 78, 88
 215: 140
- ROMA
Biblioteca Nazionale
 Gr. 6: 109
- ROUEN
Bibl. Mun.
 88: 135, 138
 107: 140
- MT. SINAI
Monastery of St Catherine
 NE gr. M 138: 211
- TORINO
Bibl. Naz.
 D.V.3: 86
- TOURS
Bibl. Mun.
 117: 135, 142
 850: 74–75, 80, 82
- TROYES
Médiathèque du Grand Troyes
 227: 140
 1024: 133, 140, 145–147, 159
 1040: 135, 137–138
- TÜBINGEN
Universitätsbibliothek
 Mb 14: 191–193, 200
- VALENCIENNES
Bibl. Mun.
 14: 141
 70: 140

73: 135, 142
 75: 132, 135, 137
 79: 132, 134

VENDÔME

Bibl. Mun.

113–113bis: 74–75, 80

VENEZIA

Bibl. Naz. Marciana

App. Class. IV 1: 191

Gr. 194: 188–189

Gr. 195: 187, 190, 195, 199–201

Gr. 269: 169, 176

Gr. 278: 168, 173

Gr. 481: 189

Gr. Z 201: 210, 214, 227

Gr. Z 228: 190

Gr. Z 453 (coll. 821): 111–112,
 120

Gr. Z 454 (coll. 822): 104–105,
 109–111, 116–117, 120

WIEN

Schottenstift Bibl.

269: 250

Staatsbibliothek

Phil. gr. 21: 191–192, 194

Phil. gr. 337: 192–193, 196, 200

Suppl. gr. 7: 191

Suppl. gr. 39: 191–193, 195–196,
 200

WOLFENBÜTTEL

Herzog August Bibliothek

2091: 326

INDEX LOCORVM

- Abbo of St. Germain
Bella Parisiaca Urbis: 70
- Aegidius Romanus
In Rhet. I.1: 46
- Albericus de Rosate
Tr.: 289–291
- Albertus Gandinus
Tr. de maleficiis: 280, 288, 292–294
- Albinus (ed. Gioè)
 12T: 201
- Anselm of Laon (dub.)
En. in Matth.: 140
- Apollonius of Perga
Con.: 100
- Apollonius sophista (ed. Bekker)
Lex.: 16, 343, 318–319
 p. 18.5–7: 343
- Aristoteles
APo.: 18, 26, 209–242
 I.2 p. 71b25: 222
 I.15 p. 79a36–38: 221
 I.31 p. 87b35: 224
 I.31 p. 87b38–39: 217
 I.31 p. 87b39–88a4: 213–227
- I.31 p. 88a2–3: 225
 I.31 p. 88a7: 220
 I.31 p. 88a12–17: 227–231
 I.32 p. 88a18: 221
 II.2 p. 90a26–27: 215
 II.2 p. 90a28–30: 215–216
 II.11 p. 94b27–31: 229
- APr.*
 I.10 p. 30b37: 211
Cat.: 221
Eth. Nic.: 26, 33
 I.1 p. 1094b14–16: 46
Int.: 221
Mem.
 p. 450a24–450b27: 225
Metaphys.
 X p. 1055a3–10: 46
Phys.
 I p. 192a21–22: 46
Probl. Phys.
 11.58 p. 905b2–9: 229
 25.9 p. 939a10–15: 229
Rh.: 25–27
 I p. 1354a1–3: 46
 I p. 1356a25–27: 46
 I p. 1356a34–1358a35: 46
Top.: 211
- Arnau de Vilanova
Aph. de gradibus: 60, 64
- Atto of Vercelli
Perpend.: 70

- Augustinus
Gen. ad. litt.: 69–70, 81, 85–86
 I.10.21: 83
 I.12.24: 81
 I.15.29: 83
 I.16.31: 84
 II.4.7: 82
 II.9.22: 82
 II.14.29: 82–83
 II.16.33: 84
- Averroes
Colliget: 57
Comment. in Arist. Metaphys.: 33
- Avicenna
Canon
 III: 56
- Bartolus de Saxoferrato
Tr. test.: 286
- Berengarius de Cumba
Quest.: 58
- Bernard de Angarra
Dub.: 13, 47–67
Quest.: 47–67
- Bernard of Clairvaux
Apol.: 293
- Boethius
De diff. top.
 III.3.15: 46
 IV.1.4: 46
- Bonifatius/Wynfrith
Ars metr.: 72
- Callimachus
Fr. (ed. Pfeiffer)
 17.8–10: 346
 18.6–8: 346
 18.8: 340, 345–346
 631: 346
- Celsus
 II.7.16: 174
- Cicero
Fam.
 V.20.6: 318
Inu.
 I.5.6: 46
- Dante
Diu. Comm.: 283
- Decretum Gratiani*
 274
- Eusebius
PE
 XI.9: 197
- Galenus
Cris. (ed. Alexanderson)
 p. 145.17–18: 166
Cris. (ed. Kühn IX)
 p. 671.11: 166
De loc. aff. (ed. Kühn XVIIIa)
 6.51 p. 88.4–5: 166–167
In Hipp. Aph. (ed. Kühn XVIIb):
 16–17, 49–51, 53, 63–64, 163–
 183
 I.1 p. 351.13–15: 166
 I.14 p. 415.3–5: 165
 III.30 p. 647.15–19: 166–167
 V.1 p. 782.4–12: 167
 V.7 p. 790.8–792.16: 170–171
 V.13 p. 797.9–798.10: 171–175
 V.16 p. 800.17–802.10: 175–
 177
 V.36 p. 825.12–18: 177–178
In Hipp. Epid. (ed. Wenkebach)
 p. 61.3–6: 165
In Hipp. Off. med.: 166
Libr. prop. (ed. Boudon-Millot)
 9 p. 159.9–160.21: 163–165
 9 p. 160.13–14: 165
Meth. med. (ed. Kühn X)
 XII.8 p. 871.2–11: 167
Tegn.: 47
- Glosae in Regula Benedicti*
 70

- Glossa Ordinaria*: 15–16, 127–161
John Gloss: 127–161
Matthew Gloss: 127–161
- Glossarium Ansileubi*
69, 73
- Gregorius of Tours
Hist.: 86
- Herodotus
I: 102
- Hippocrates
[*Acut.*]: 47–48
Aph.: 13, 16–17, 47–67
5: 163–183
Coac. (ed. Littré V)
p. 680.7–8: 174
Liqu. (ed. Joly)
I.4 p. 165.14–16: 176
Progn.: 47
- Homerus
Il.: 19–21, 97–125, 331–362
I.56–58: 337
I.202: 339, 343–344
I.357: 327
II.101–109: 339, 344
II.751–827: 337
III.59: 337
IV.164–170: 336, 338
IV.306–316: 336, 338
IV.507–539: 338
V.85: 338, 342
V.148–196: 338
V.233–251: 338
V.576–597: 339
VI.236: 338
VI.252–285: 338
VI.333: 337
VII.75–83: 338
VII.468: 346
IX.129–147: 338
X.561–568: 338
XI.677–754: 338
XII: 115
XII.91–148: 338
- XIV: 339, 344
XIV.316–348: 338
XV: 115
XV.610–661: 338
XVII.4–700: 339
XIX.347–416: 339
XIX.351: 349
XX: 345
XX.144–152: 339
XXI: 336, 351–352
XXI.1–516: 339
XXIII.2–141: 339
XXIII.297–299: 339
XIV.753: 340, 345–346
Od.: 98, 332, 335, 337, 340, 346,
353
II.426: 328
XX.103–251: 347
- Horatius
Carm.
III.11.48: 328
- Isidorus of Sevilla
Chron. cont.: 72
De haer.: 73
Etym.: 71–73, 86, 303
XIII.7.2: 82
Per. Eg.: 73
- Jerome
Comment. in Eu. Matth. (ed. Hurst
& Adriaen)
I.1 p. 7.7–14: 148, 157
- Johannitius
Isag.: 47–48
- John de Fonte
Concl.: 254
- John of Jandun
Comment. in Arist. Rh.: 13, 25–46
- John Scotus Eriugena
Glossae: 77
Periphyseon: 293

- Justinianus
Corp. iuris ciu.: 277–278, 281, 283–288
- Leon Magentinos
In Arist. APo.: 18, 219–227, 231
- Liber Glossarum*
 14–15, 18, 20, 69–95
- Liber uiginti quattuor philosophorum*
 258
- Livius
 XXIV.11.9: 311
- Lucilius
Fr. (ed. Marx)
 966: 327
- Macrobius
Sat.: 319
- Michael of Ephesus
In Arist. Paru. Nat. (ed. Wendland, CAG XXII 1)
 p. 9.3–8: 225–226
- Mythographus Homericus*
 108, 115, 331–332, 335–336, 350, 362
- Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl
Mell.: 246
- Olympiodorus
In Phd. (ed. Norvin)
 13.1 p. 74.5–6: 197
- Papias
Element.: 70
- Papyri
 BKT X 12: 338, 341–343
 P. Aberd. 119: 340, 346–347
 P. Amherst II 12: 102
 P. Berol. inv. 9960: 337, 342
 P. Berol. inv. 16897: 342
- P. Berol. inv. 17151: 338
 P. Cair. inv. 60566: 338, 342
 P. Cair. Mich. II 4: 337, 339, 343–344
 P. Daris s. inv.: 335–336, 338, 341–342
 P. Fay. Coles 2: 340, 347
 P. Hamb. II 136: 339, 344
 P. Iand. I 2 = P. Giss. Lit. II 8: 338, 341–343
 P. Laur. inv. III/979: 338, 342
 P. Lond. Lit. 142: 335
 P. Med. inv. 71.82: 340, 347
 P. Mich. inv. 1206: 338, 342–343
 P. Mich. inv. 3688: 335, 340, 345–346
 P. Mil. Vogl. I 19: 339, 344
 P. Nicole inv. 72: 339, 344–345
 P. Oxy. II 221: 336, 339, 342–343, 351
 P. Oxy. III 418: 336
 P. Oxy. VIII 1086: 337, 340–343, 350–352
 P. Oxy. VIII 1087: 336, 338, 342
 P. Oxy. XXIV 2397: 339
 P. Oxy. XXIX 2888: 353
 P. Oxy. LIII 3710: 347
 P. Oxy. LVI 3832: 336
 P. Oxy. LXV 4451: 337, 340, 342
 P. Oxy. LXV 4452: 339, 342–343, 349
 P. Oxy. LXV 4453: 353
 P. Oxy. LXXI 4820: 353
 P. Oxy. LXXVI 5095: 115, 338, 341–343
 P. Oxy. inv. 12 1b.133/B(a): 339
 P. Oxy. inv. 32 4b.89 B(1–2): 339
 P. Oxy. inv. 37: 339
 P. Oxy. inv. 105/40(d): 339
 P. Ryl. I 24: 336, 338, 342
 P. Ticinensis inv. 1: 346
 P. Turner 12 = P. Berol. inv. 11907: 340, 348
 P. Wash. Univ. II 63: 335, 338, 342
 P. Yale II 128: 353
- Paschasius Radbertus
Comment. in Matth.: 141

- Peter Abelard
Dialog. inter philos., Iud. et Christ.: 29b5–c1: 194–196
 29e1–2: 198–199
 293
- Peter Comestor
Hist. schol.: 144, 149
- Peter Lombard
Coll.: 143
Comm.: 143
Sent.: 143–144, 243–271
 14: 19
- Petrarca
Fam.
 XVIII.2: 191
- Philoponus
Arist. APo. (ed. Wallies, CAG XIII 3):
 18
 p. 306–309: 217
 p. 307.22–27: 217
 p. 307.28–33: 218
 p. 307.33–308.4: 218
 p. 308.30–31: 218
 p. 308.31–34: 219
 p. 310.11: 214
 p. 310.11–12: 217
 p. 311.9–12: 228
 p. 311.15: 227
 p. 311.16–17: 228
De aet. (ed. Rabe)
 VI.26 p. 205.17–18: 196
 VI.27 p. 214.8: 200
In de an. (ed. Hayduck, CAG XV)
 p. 72.63ff.: 197
- Pietro Riga
Aurora: 293
- Plato
Critias: 191
Ti.: 17–18, 185–208
 26c5: 204
 27c1–31b2: 185, 208
 27c4–6: 200–204
 27d6–28a1: 196–198
 28a4–6: 199–200
- Porphyrius
Is.: 209
- Proclus
In Prm. (ed. Steel)
 p. 994.20–23: 195
In Ti. (ed. Diehl): 17–18, 185–208
 I p. 217.4–6: 200–204
 I p. 217.12: 201
 I p. 218.2: 201
 I p. 218.8ff.: 203–204
 I p. 218.25: 201
 I p. 218.28–219.3: 201–202
 I p. 219.13–20: 202
 I p. 219.14: 201
 I p. 219.20–27: 202
 I p. 219.28: 201
 I p. 227.4–5: 196–198
 I p. 233.8: 196, 198
 I p. 233.19: 196, 198
 I p. 233.20–24: 196
 I p. 240.1: 196
 I p. 241.10–11: 196
 I p. 241.13: 196
 I p. 258.9–11: 199–200
 I p. 258.16: 199
 I p. 258.21: 199
 I p. 258.29: 199
 I p. 275.9: 201
 I p. 275.9–10: 203–204
 I p. 275.10: 200
 I p. 275.13: 196
 I p. 313.3: 194
 I p. 324.6: 198
 I p. 341.25–342.2: 194–196
 I p. 343.13–14: 195
 I p. 359.20–21: 198–199
 I. p. 362.18: 198
 II p. 7.22: 198
- Psellus
Εἰς τὴν ψυχρογονίαν τοῦ Πλάτωνος (ed. Bidez)
 p. 321ff.: 188

Rhetorica ad Herennium

27

I.2: 46

Rolandus de Luca

Summa Trium Libr.: 274, 281, 284,
289–291, 294–295

Scholia in Homerum

Il. (ed. Erbse): 14–15, 19–20

I.129c: 102

XXI.194c2: 105

XXI.195c: 105

XXIV.679–681: 106

Il. (D) (ed. Laskaris): 15, 107–109,
111–117, 120, 125, 335, 350

I.222: 111

XXIV.753a: 346

Il. (exeg.: bT) (ed. Erbse): 111–114,
116–117, 120, 350–354

I.202: 343

XVI.235: 346

XXIV.753a: 346

Il. (h) (ed. Erbse): 15, 113–114,
116–117, 119–120, 125

Il. (VMK) (ed. Erbse): 110–111,
113–114, 116, 120, 350–351, 354

Od. (ed. Pontani)

I.103f: 353

III.1e: 353

III.2a: 353

IV.336a: 353

IV.343b2: 353

IV.437g: 353

V.275b2: 353

V.277d: 353

Scholia in Sophoclem

El.: 104

Servius/Servius Auctus

Aen.: 20–21, 301–330

I.35: 321

I.39: 313

I.383: 316

III.2: 306–308

VI.1: 309–319, 321, 327–328

XII.120: 305–306

Sextus Empiricus

Adv. Dogm.

I.142: 196

Simplicius

In Cael. (ed. Heiberg, CAG VII)

p. 104.5ff.: 197

p. 297.15–16: 197

p. 299.7–8: 197

In Ph. (ed. Diels, CAG IX–X)

p. 135.10–11: 197

p. 137.1: 197

p. 1154.17–18: 197

De situ orbis

70

Smaragdus of St. Mihiel

Comment. in Reg. Benedicti: 70

Stephanus

In Hipp. Aph. (ed. Westerink): 169–
170

p. 30.10: 171

p. 30.32–33: 171

p. 50.14–27: 174

p. 52.18–19: 176

p. 56.16: 176–177

p. 116.8–9: 178

Themistius

In Arist. APo. (ed. Wallies, CAG V 1)

p. 38.12–18: 219

p. 38.32–33: 228

p. 38.32–39.2: 227

Themistius (Sophronias)

In Arist. Paru. Nat. (ed. Wendland,
CAG V 6)

p. 2.26–29: 226

Theophilus

In Hipp. Aph. (ed. Dietz II): 169–
170, 174

p. 443.17: 171

p. 443.26–27: 171

p. 447.29–30: 174

p. 449.7: 177

Theophrastus

Ign.

73: 228

Thomas Aquinas

Quaest. disp. de spir. creat.

8: 46

Vegetius

Mil.: 70

Vergilius

Aen.: 301–330

VI.1: 311

Buc.: 304

